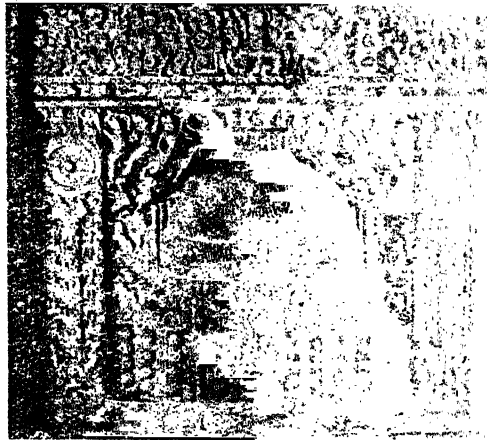


**JOURNAL OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY**

VOLUME IX, PART I.
(July 1934)



Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1934

RAJAHMUNDRY.

Printed at the Sujanaranjani Printing Works.
Published by the Andhra Historical Research Society.

Annual Subscription for Members :- Indian 3 Rs. Foreign 6 Sh.
" " for Institutions :- Indian 6 Rs. Foreign 12 „
Price of Each Part 2 Rs. only. Postage Extra 8 Annas.

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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOLUME IX.

July 1934.

Part 1,

GENEOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

GOVIND PAI.

Addenda.

(1) We have seen that the grant mentioned in the British Museum Prākṛit plates ¹²⁶ was made in the reign of Vijaya-Skāndavarma by princess Chārudevi wife of *Yuva-mahārāja* (i. e. crown-prince) Vijaya Buddhavarma. In the same plates she is further said to be the mother of prince Buddhyaṅkura, which fact however, we regret, was left out by sheer oversight in the earlier part of this article; and accordingly nothing was said about that prince Buddhyaṅkura or his place in the Pallava geneology.

We have already shown that the king Vijaya-Skāndavarma, who was on the Pallava throne when these plates were issued, is no other than Kumāravishnu I, and also that the crown-prince Vijaya-Buddhavarma, who was the husband of the donor-princess Chārudevi, was none else than his son who succeeded him and ruled after him as Buddhavarma, as is satisfactorily known from the Chendalūr plates¹²⁷ issued not long after his (Buddhavarma's) death, as well as from the Vayalūr pillar inscription¹²⁸ and the Vēlūr pūlaiyam plates.¹²⁹ From the Ōṅgōḍu (no. 1) plates¹³⁰ however we know that the son and successor of Kumāravishnu I was called Skandavarma, whence it follows that Buddhavarma, was also known as Skandavarma. Now from the Chendalūr plates we further know that the donor-king Kumāravishnu II was the son

¹²⁶ E. I. (VIII. p. 143). ¹²⁷ E. I. (VIII. p. 233). ¹²⁸ E. I. (XVIII. pp. 145-52). ¹²⁹ S. I. I. (II. pp. 501-17). ¹³⁰ M. E. R. (Madras Epigraphist's Report) 1916 (p. 113).

and successor of Buddhavarma and from the Ūṃgōḍu (no I) plates again we know that the donor-king's father Viravarma was the grandson of Kumāravishṇu and the son of Skandavarma; Or in other words it means that Viravarma was the son and successor of Skandavarma, who himself was the son and successor of Kumāravishṇu I. Accordingly it would appear that the same king, who in his own Chendalūr plates is known as Kumāravishṇu II (naturally called as such after his grand-father of that name), has been called Viravarma in the Ūṃgōḍu (no. I) plates of his own son and successor Vijaya-Skandavarma (Skandavarma III). This Viravarma *alias* Kumāravishṇu II was thus the son and successor of Buddha varma, wherefore in all probability he is the same person, who as a prince was called Buddhyaṅkura (which name by the bye was perhaps a pet-name by which he has been called by his mother in her private grant), while as a king he was known as Kumāravishṇu II as well as Viravarma.

<i>British Museum plates</i>	<i>Chendalūr</i>	<i>Vogalur</i>	<i>Velurpalaiyām</i>	<i>Oṃgōḍu (No. I)</i>
	Skandavarma =	Skandavarma =	Skandasishya	
Vijaya-Skandavarma =	Kumāravishṇu I =	Kumāravishṇu I =	Kumāravishṇu I =	Kumāravishṇu I
Chāruḍēvi + Vijaya-Bud- dhavarma (Crown-prince)	= Buddhavarma =	Buddhavarma =	Buddhavarma =	Skandavarma
Prince Buddhyaṅkura =	Kumāravishṇu II =	..... =	Viravarma	
				Vijaya Skandavarma (Skandavarma III)

(2) By sheer oversight again, when speaking of the date of the Gadvaḷ plates in the foregoing appendix B, the equivalent English date has been left out. The mistake is corrected here as follows. The Gadvaḷ plates of Chalukya king Vikramāditya I are dated in his 20th regnal year on the full moon day of *Vaisakha* in S.S. 596 i.e. the 25th April 674 A.C., whence it follows that the said Vikramāditya I ascended the Chalukya throne in the latter part of 654 A.C.

(3) In our article on the genealogy and chronology of the western Gaugas (already referred to in the foregoing pages),¹³¹ we have discussed the date of the Penukonda plates of the Gaiga king Mādhava II¹³² and have duly assigned them to the 10th March 350 A. C. But by a very unfortunate slip of the pen, the said date appears incorrectly as 17th March 349 A. C. in the earlier part of this article (Vol. VII. part I; p. 14; last line), which has therefore to be corrected as 10th March 350 A. C.

(4) It is well known from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta¹³³ that one of the several kings whom he defeated in his southern campaign was Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi; and the fact that the epithet, which is a *taddhita* formed from the name of the city of Kāñchi, which was the capital of the Pallava kingdom, has been coupled with his name, exactly as similar other *taddhitas* formed alike from the names whether of their respective kingdoms or capitals are coupled with the names of those other southern kings mentioned in the same inscription, quite suffices to prove that the said Vishṇugōpa was actually reigning as king when the Pallava kingdom was invaded by that Gupta monarch. It is thus certain that when Samudragupta led his expedition into the Pallava country, it was ruled over by king Vishṇugōpa, who would therefore be a contemporary of that Gupta king. From the New Mathura inscription of Samudra Gupta's son and successor Chandragupta II,¹³⁴ we know that his father Samudra Gupta died in G. S. 60 or 61 i.e., 332-333 A. C. according to our date 272-273 A. C. for the epoch of the Gupta era.¹³⁵ The southern campaign of Samudragupta would then allot itself to circa 320-322 A. C., when therefore his contemporary Vishṇugōpa would be on the Pallava throne.

According to the Pallava inscriptions hitherto accessible to us there were two and only two Pallava kings of the name of Vishṇugopa, the first of which name i.e., Vishṇugopa I was the younger brother of Simhavarma I and the father of Simhavarma II, while the second of that name i.e. Vishṇugopa II was the son of Simhavarma II and therefore the grandson of his name sake Vishṇugōpa I. No third king of the name Vishṇugopa is found in all the Pallava genealogy. If nevertheless the name of a third Vishṇugōpa is found stuck into the Pallava genealogy¹³⁶ between Buddhavarma's son Buddayānkura (i.e. Viravarma

¹³¹ Karnataka Historical Review (II No. I) ¹³² E. I. (XIV. pp. 331-36)
¹³³ F. G. I. (No. 1). ¹³⁴ J. I. H. (XI. 2). ¹³⁵ Ibid. ¹³⁶ Jouveau-Dubreuil's
 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (pp. 54, 70); Historical Inscriptions of South
 India (H. I. S. I.)-p. 374.

alias Kumāravishṇu II) and his son and successor Skandavarma III (*alias* Vijaya-Skandavarma) [apparently perhaps to meet the exigency of the unquestionable synchronism of a Pallava king of that name with the Gupta king Samudragupta, it may be said once for all that as the indisputable fact of the name of this make-shift Vishnugōpa being so conspicuous by absence in the Pallava inscriptions must necessarily preclude his admittance into their historical geneology, he can hardly have any place in it. *It is thus certain that it was either Vishnugopa I or his namesake and grandson Vishnugopa II who was the contemporary of Samudragupta.*

Scholars are now quite agreed¹³⁷ that it was Pallava Simhavarma I who crowned the Gaṅga king Harivarma *alias* Ayyavarma, and that it was his son the Pallava king Skandavarma IV who installed the Gaṅga king Mādhava II, who was himself the grandson of Harivarma, as recorded in the Penukoṇḍi plates of Mādhava II¹³⁸. In our forthcoming article on the geneology and chronology of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi, we have made it sufficiently clear that the Pallava king spoken of as Chaṇḍaṇḍa in the Halsi plates¹³⁹ of the Kadamba king Ravivarma, as well as the Pallava king spoken of as Śāntivarma in the Birur plates¹⁴⁰ and again as Śāntivaravarma in the Hebbata plates¹⁴¹ of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarma is one and the same person who is none else than the Pallava king Skandavarma IV. Now we have already said that in our article on the geneology and chronology of the western Gaṅgas, we have assigned the Penukoṇḍi plates of Mādhava II to the 10th March 350 A. C., and in our Kadamba article the Birūr plates have been allotted to 6th January 352 A.C., and the Hebbata plates to the 14th October 357 A. C. Thus it is manifest that it was Skandavarma IV who was on the Pallava throne in the years 350-357 A. C., whence it at once follows that it was his uncle and immediate predecessor *Vishnugopa I* (and never his nephew Vishnugōpa II) who was the Pallava king that was defeated by Samudragupta in *circa* 320-22 A. C.

(5) The surest and perhaps the only positive date in all Pallava chronology is furnished not however by any of the epigraphs of the Pallavas themselves, but by the colophon of a transcript of the Jaina work on cosmography called the *Loka-vibhaga*, which, as has been already noticed above, is dated the 24th November 458 A. C., in the 22nd year of the reign of a Pallava king called Simhavarma. This readily gives us the year 437 A. C. as that of the accession of that king. As however

137 H. I. S. I. (pp. 346, 374) 138 E. I. (XIV. pp. 331-36). 139 I. A. (VI p. 30); H. I. S. I. (p. 374) 140 E. C. (VI. Kd. 162). 141 M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98.)

there were 3 different Pallava kings of the name Simhavarma, the otherwise extreme usefulness of so positive a date is unfortunately vitiated by the entire absence of any other specific data as to who the particular Simhavarma was who ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A. C. The late Dr. Fleet would have us believe that it was Simhavarma I who came to the throne in that year¹⁴² and that fixture seems to have been admitted without demur. But there are certain facts of synchronism &c, which unless they are totally ignored or entirely rejected, must tend to quite a different conclusion. Some of these, which have been already set forth in the earlier part of this article, go to prove that it was neither Simhavarma I nor Simhavarma II whose accession took place in 437 A. C., but it was unquestionably the 3rd king of that name i.e. *Simhavarma III* who ascended the Pallava throne in that year. If however those reasons will not suffice, we shall once again try if we can make our position yet more clear by means of *reductio ad absurdum* as follows.

Suppose then it was Simhavarma I himself whose accession took place in 437 A. C.

(a) We have seen that Vishnugōpa (I) was yet a crown-prince, when, in the 11th year of the reign of his elder brother and the then reigning king Simhavarma I, he issued his Uruvapalli grant¹⁴³ Consequently Vishnugōpa became king only after the death of his elder brother Simhavarma I. Now we know for certain that it was Vishnugōpa I who was defeated by Samudragupta, and as such it was he who was on the Pallava throne in *circa* 320-322 A.C. Manifestly therefore his elder brother and predecessor Simhavarma I must have come to the throne several years before 320 A. C. i. e. more than a hundred years before 437 A. C.

(b) We have just seen that Skandavarma IV, who was the son of Simhavarma I, was on the Pallava throne in the years 350-357 A.C.; wherefore too the accession of his father Simhavarma I will have to be placed more than a hundred years before 437 A.C.

(c) From the *Avanti Sundari Katha* we know that the Gaṅga king Durvinita and the Pallava king Simhavishnu were contemporaries. In our Gaṅga article the Gummareddipura plates of the 40th year of Durvinita¹⁴⁴ have been definitely assigned to Wednesday the 24th January 518 A. C., whence it is evident that he must have come to the Gaṅga throne in 478 A.C. If it was Simhavarma I who ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A.C., there would be a difference of merely 40 or 41 years between the accessions of Pallava Simhavarma I and Gaṅga Durvinita. In other words it would mean that at least seven kings. viz. (1) Simhavarma I, (2) Vishnugōpa I,

(3) Skandavarma IV, (4) Simhavarma II, (5) Vishnugōpa II, (6) Nandivarma I and (7) Simhavarma III, must have reigned within those 40 years, which is surely incredible, if not absolutely impossible.

Then again there are the Gaṅga epigraphs of Avinita, who was the father and immediate predecessor of Durvinita, which are dated as follows—(1) the Residency plates¹⁴⁵ in his 25th year, (2) the Kodunjeruvu plates¹⁴⁶ also in the same regnal year, and (3) the Mallōhalli (No. I) plates¹⁴⁷ in his 29th year; whence it is certain that Avinita must have reigned for at least 29 years if not yet longer. Accordingly his accession will have to be placed at least in (if not sometime before) 478-29=449 A. C. The immediate predecessor of Avinita was his father Mādhava II, whose Noṇamaṅgalam (No. I) plates¹⁴⁸ are dated in his 13th regnal year. Even without going once again here in to the discussion of the respective regnal periods of Avinita and Mādhava II and the dates of their respective accessions (as the same have been fully discussed in our Gaṅga article), it is manifest that Mādhava II must have ascended the Gaṅga throne sometime before 449-13=436 A. C. This would at once make him a slightly senior contemporary of Pallava Simhavarma I, whereas we know it as a settled fact from his Penukonda plates that it was *his grandfather* Harivarma *alias* Ayyavarma who was crowned by Simhavarma I (wherefore Harivarma would be a junior contemporary of Simhavarma I), while he himself was installed on the Gaṅga throne by Skandavarma IV who was the son of that Simhavarma I. Thus again it is self evident that Simhavarma I must have come to the Pallava throne a long time before 437 A. C.

It will also be readily seen that the date 475 A. C., to which the Penukonda plates seem to have been definitely allotted by Dr. Fleet and which is presumably based on his other date 437 A. C. for the accession of Pallava Simhavarma I, will have to be given up as equally inconsistent.

Simhavarma I having been thus disposed of, let us see if at least it was his namesake Simhavarma II who ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A. C.

(a) We have seen that it was Vishnugōpa I who was on the Pallava throne in 320-322 A. C. when Samudragupta invaded the Pallava kingdom, wherefore Vishnugōpa I must have come to the throne sometime before 320 A. C. Now Vishnugōpa I was the father of Simhavarma II. If then Simhavarma II ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A. C., there would be a difference of more than a hundred years between the accessions of the father and the son, which however is quite incredible, or perhaps even absurd, especially when we

know that the Simhavarma who came to the throne in 437 A. C. had a reign of at least 22 years, as is evident from the said colphon in the copy of *Loka-vibhaga*.

(b) From the Birūr and the Hebbata plates we have already seen that Simhavarma II's cousin-brother Skandavarma IV was already reigning as king in the year 350 A. C., whence it is evident that he must have become king some years earlier. If Simhavarma II ascended the throne in 437 A. C., it is obvious that he could not be the predecessor of Skandavarma IV, but must be his successor. Even in that case it is not possible to place his accession in 437 A. C., as there would be nearly a hundred years between his accession and that of his cousin-brother and predecessor Skandavarma IV.

(c) An eclipse has been mentioned in the Ōmgōḍu plates (No. 2)¹⁴⁹ which are dated on the 5th lunar day of the *bright* half of *Vaisakha* in the 4th regnal year of Simhavarma II. Necessarily therefore it must be a *Solar* eclipse which must have occurred on the newmoon day immediately preceding the actual date of the grant i.e. the newmoon day of the *Amanta* lunar month of *Chaitra*, which was only 5 days earlier than the actual date of the grant. If therefore it was Simhavarma II who came to the throne in 437 A. C., there ought to be a Solar eclipse on the newmoon day of *Amanta Chaitra* in the year 440 A. C. But was there any? Yes, there was a total solar eclipse (though perhaps not visible in India) on the 17th May 440 A. C.; but unfortunately it occurred not on the newmoon day of *Amanta Chaitra* but on that of the *Amanta* month of *Adhika* (intercalary) *Jyestha* i.e., exactly a month and 25 days after the lunar day on which these Ōmgōḍu (No. 2) plates were issued. Nor was there any solar eclipse whatsoever on the *Chaitra* newmoon day between the years 414 A. C. (in which there was a total solar eclipse on that lunar day i.e. 6th April) and 460 A. C. (in which there was a total solar eclipse on that lunar day i.e. 7th April). It would therefore be nothing short of putting cart before horse to fix upon the solar eclipse of the 17th May 440 A. C. as the one that has been referred to in the Ōmgōḍu (No. 2) plates.

It is thus manifest that it was neither Simhavarma I nor Simhavarma II who ascended the Pallava throne in the year 437 A.C. and when both of them have been thus disposed of, it is equally manifest that it was *Simhavarma III* and none else that came to the Pallava throne in that year.

It need then hardly be repeated that this date 437 A. C., which has been thus conclusively shown to be the year of the accession of *Simhavarma III*, stands as the one fixed and unmistakable

landmark in the Pallava chronology, and referring as it does to a king, whose name fortunately stands almost midway in the Pallava geneology from Kālabhartri to Aparājita it will be found to be of no little avail in at least approximately determining as well as verifying the dates of his near and distant predecessors as well as successors until some fresh documents with more or equally definite dates will be forthcoming.

(6) In the Bedirūr plates 150 issued in the 25th year of the Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama *alias* Srivallabha and dated S.S. 556. Thursday the 10th lunar day of the bright half of *Chaitra* month under the constellation of *Magha*, correctly corresponding to Thursday the 25th March 633 A. C., the said king is described as of which the *prima facie* rendering would be—‘the king named Srivallabha, who in the fierce ¹⁵¹.....battle of Viḷanda conquered the *king the Pallava king*’. Evidently therefore both of these words and (in the compound can not be common nouns meaning ‘*king*’, but either of them must in all probability be the proper name of that Pallava king who was defeated in that battle, and it need hardly be said that of the two it is, and never, that would be his personal name. The passage would then be free from the otherwise meaningless tautology, and would be properly and correctly rendered as ‘the king named Srivallabha, who in the fierce.....battle of Viḷanda conquered the Pallava *king* (named) *Indra*. Now the only 2 Pallava kings, who would answer to the name of *Indra*, are Mahendravarma I and his grandson Mahendravarma II. Which of the twain is the Pallava king whom Bhūvikrama thus claims to have conquered?

From the Jaina work ‘*Loka-Vibhaga*,’ as we have already seen, the Pallava king *Simhavarma III* is known to have ascended the throne in 437 A.C, and this date, it has been already remarked once for all, stands as a fixed and positive land mark in the Pallava chronology. Now from the Belirūr plates it is clear that the Gaṅga king Bhuvikrama came to the throne in 608 A. C., and the battle in question was therefore fought between 608 A. C., and 633 A.C. As the passage denoting the date of this grant immediately follows that in which the donor-king’s victory at Viḷanda is mentioned, it is pretty certain that many years had not elapsed between the victory and the grant and

150 M. A. R. 1925 [p. 86, u, 31-32, S. N. 6. This description of Bhuvikrama is repeated in several subsequent Ganga records. Alur plates [M. A. R. 1924 p. 73]; Narsapur plates [E. C. X. kl. 91]; Hosur plates [E. C. X. Gd. 47]; Javali plates [E. C. VI Mg 36]; Kovalavettu, plates [M. A. R. 1927, p. 106 &c, 151] Here follows the description of that battle.

consequently the former event may be duly placed between 625 and 633 A.C., and let us say the battle was fought in 627 A.C. The interval between 437 A.C. and 627 A.C. is 190 years, and if the Pallava contemporāry of the Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama be Mahēndravarma I (i. e. the first of the 2 Pallava kings answering to the name of *Indra*), supposing the battle of Viḷanda to have been fought in, say, the 30th year of his reign, the long stretch of $(190-30=)$ 160 years would have to be made up by merely the *two* successive reigns of Simhavarma III and his son Simhavishnu, which in other words would mean that each of them, father and son, had an average reign of not less than 80 years, and that is simply absurd. It therefore goes without saying that the Pallava contemporāry of the Gaṅga king Bhuvikrama was *Mahēndravarma II* and no other. His reign, which has been already (in the earlier part of this article) approximately assigned to 595-630 A.C., synchronizes well enough with that of Bhuvikrama, who ascended the Gaṅga throne in 608 A.C. and was still ruling in 633 A.C.

We have seen that the Chālukya king Pulikēśi II ascended the throne in 610 A.C. and was still ruling in 634 A.C., in which year his Aihole inscription is dated. Thus then the Pallava king Mahēndravarma II, the Chālukya king Pulikēśi II and the Gaṅga king Bhuvikrama were contemporaries. Now Mahēndravarma II was the son of Narasimhavarma I. If then Mahēndravarma II was conquered by Bhuvikrama sometime before 633 A.C., it is stark impossible that his father Narasimhavarma I could have conquered Pulikēśi II in about 642 A.C. This therefore is yet another reason why the Chālukya king Pulikēśi said to have been conquered by Narasimhavarma I would not be Pulikēśi II, but must be his grand father Pulikēśi I. The Pallava king, whom Pulikēśi II claims to have defeated and driven within the ramparts of his capital Kūñchi (Aihole Ins. v. 29) is, as we have already said, his contemporāry Mahēndravarma II i. e. the same Pallava as was defeated by Bhuvikrama at Viḷanda.

(7) From the Ceylonese chronicle¹⁵² '*Mahāvamsa*' We learn that prince Mānavarma, who was the son of king Kassapa II and was a claimant to the Singhalese throne, lived at the court of the Pallava king named Narasimhavarma, and helped that Pallava king to conquer his enemy king Vallabha, evidently the contemporāry Chālukya king, that the grateful Narasimhavarma twice supplied Mānavarma with an army to invade Ceylon, and that Mānavarma was successful on the second occasion, when he occupied and reigned over Ceylon. Now as Narasimhavarma I is known as "Agastya Iva Vimathita Vātāpih Pariyaḷa maṇi Mangaḷa Śooramāra

Prabṛuṭiṣhu Jēṭa Bahuṣō vallabha Rājasya Narasimhavarmā 153 154" and "Vātāpi nirjaya vidambita Kumbha janmā Lankā jayā cherita Rāma parākrama Śrih.155 and also as it is but natural if the fact of his conquest of the Chalukyan capital Vātāpi as well as that of his conquest of Lañka (Ceylon) taken together should have led the scholars to conclude that he must be the Pallava king at whose court Mānavarma lived and whom that prince helped against his Chālukya enemy, and who again on behalf of that Singhalese prince led an expedition into Ceylon and conquered it. The return of Mānavarma to Ceylon has been assigned to 668 A. C., which date is said to be conclusively established by Dr. Hultzsich.¹⁵⁶ It would thus appear that it was Narasimhavarma I, who conquered Ceylon on behalf of his protēgē Mānavarma and established him on the Singhalese throne in 668 A. C.

But the chronological facts already disclosed and discussed herein above do not seem to warrant this conclusion. For supposing this event to have taken place, say, in the 30th regnal year of Narasimhavarma I, in which case the year 668 A. C. would be the 30th year of his reign, it would appear that he came to the Throne in 668-30=638 A. C. Consequently there would be a long stretch of 638-437=201 years between the commencement of the reign of Simhavarma III (in 437 A. C.) and that of Narasimhavarma I (in 638 A. C.), which would have to be covered by merely the three successive reigns of Simhavishnu III, Simhavishnu, and Mahēndravarma I, when each of them, father, son and grandson, would have an average reign of nearly 67 years, which is not possible. Further, as we have just seen, the Bediūr plates of Bhuvikrama, referring to the battle which took place shortly before 633 A. C., tend to establish a definite synchronism of that Gaṅga king with the Pallava king Mahēndravarma II, who, as we know, was the son and successor of Narasimhavarma I. It is thus manifest that Narasimhavarma I could not be the Pallava king that was ruling in 668 A. C. If therefore Dr. Hultzsich's date 668 A. C. for the return of Mānavarma is correct, the Pallava king Narasimhavarma, who helped him with an army to invade Ceylon, would naturally be Narasimhavarma II, who, as we know, was the grandson of Mahēndravarma II, and whose reign has been already allotted to 660-685 A. C.

It must also be remembered here that in the 'Mahāvamsa' the Pallava king Narasimhavarma is simply said to have helped prince Mānavarma with an army to invade Ceylon, and not to have invaded nor conquered it himself, wherefore too he would not be Narasimhavarma I, who was himself the conqueror of Lañka or

153 Udayendiram (No. 2) plates (M. 14-16). 154 Kasakudi plates (V, 22)
155 Ibid. 156 (H. I. S. I.) p. 25.

Ceylon, as has been claimed for him in the Kāśākūḍi plates. Further the Chālukya king, against whom Mānavarma is said to have helped his protector Narasimhavarma, is merely called Vallabha, which name in the case of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi was a generic epithet,¹⁵⁷ and cannot therefore be restricted to mean Pulikēsi II and no other, as seems to have been hitherto done; and we know that there were wars between Narasimhavarma II and the Chālukya king Vikramaditya I (the son and successor of Pulikēsi II), in which Mānavarma may have rendered yeoman's service to his protector. It is certain, however, that Narasimhavarma I conquered Ceylon, as recorded in the Kāśākūḍi plates, and as an inevitable consequence it is also equally certain that thenceforth there would be running animosity between the Singhalese kings and the Pallavas and that is exactly why prince Mānavarma must have bethought himself to resort to the court of the Pallava king Narasimhavarma II in order to regain his father's throne with the latter's help, and we know that he played his game well enough and did succeed in it.

***Govinda Deekshita and his Literary successors.**

Sri Vidyaranya, the great sage and the renowned commentator of the Four Vedas, played a prominent part in the great religious and political revival which took place in the Karnataka country in the Fourteenth Century of the Christian Era. He was a distinguished disciple of Sri Vidya Theerthendra Sarasvati, the fifty first Guru on the Kamakoti Peetha of Conjeeveram. The date of this Peetadhipati was 1296 to 1384 A. D. Among his disciples were the brothers Sayana and Madhava, Harihara and Bukka, Sankarananda, Bharati Krishna and others. He was known also as Vidyanatha and Vidyasankara. When this Guru saw that in the Karnataka Country the Advaitic philosophy established by Sri Sankaracharya was then being attacked by Madhvāchārya, Madhava who had then become a Sanyasin under the title Vidyaranya was sent over to the Karnataka Country to preach Sri Sankaracharya's Advaitic Doctrine. Sri Vidyaranya Swami carried out the mission and established eight Mutts in the Karnatic Country. While he himself stayed at Pampa Kshetra, now known as Hampi, on the southern bank of the Tunga Bhadra, as he was a great devotee of Sri Virupakshesvara and Sri Bhuvaneshvari, as the head of one Mutt, now known as the Virupaksha Peetha, he was accepted as the Guru of all the Mutts in the Karnataka Country including the ancient and original Mutt at Sringeri. Sri Vidyaranya Swami is shown as the twelfth Peetadhipati in the Sringeri Guru-Parampara and the Guru-Parampara of the Govardhana Mutt at Jagannath shows Sri Vidyaranya as the Fourth Peethadhipati.

There is a traditional story that Sri Vidyaranya was a great Upasaka of Sri Gayatri and that Sri Gayatri once told him that he would get great glory as the founder of a great kingdom. It is said that there was a rain of gold and that the city of Sri Virupaksha was beautified by Sri Vidyaranya with the aid of the gold so showered. The city came to be called Vidya-nagara.

Just at that time, the tide of Muslim invasion was threatening the extinction of Hindu sovereignty and culture in the Karnataka Country, as in the whole of Southern India. The opportunity was availed of by Sri Vidyaranya, who was a master of the four Vedas

* Paper read at the seventh India Oriental conference held at Baroda in December 1933, under the Heading "The Contribution of the Karnataka Families to Sanskrit Literature in the Tamil Country by N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A.L.T., Chief Lecturer in English, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, as the Delegate to the Conference, deputed by His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya Swamiji, of Kamakoti Peetha, Conjeeveram cum Kumbakonam.

The paper follows the author's paper on, "*Govinda Deekshita*", published in the A. H. R. S. Journal, Volume II: Parts 3 & 4, 1928

and had mastered the rituals of the Atharva Veda, regarding the consecration and establishment of sovereigns and sovereignties, to give active assistance to the great chiefs and devotees of the Jagad-Guru Sri Sankaracharya, Harihara and Bukka, the sons of Sangama, to establish the seat of a Power at Vidyanagara, known to history as Vijayanagar, which soon grew into a powerful Empire with a glorious history for well nigh three centuries thereafter.

Vincent Smith says in his Oxford History of India-p. 301 that 'there is no doubt that the new power was the outcome of the efforts made by five brothers, sons of one Sangama, to stay the tide of Muslim invasion and to preserve Hindu Dharma in the peninsula.' The Kingdom of Vijayanagar was established by Harihara and Bukka in the year 1336 with the active aid and blessing of Sri Vidyaranya Swami, who thereafter came to be known as Karnataka Simhasana Pratishthapanacharya, a title which appears in the Guru-paramparas of the Mutts of Sringeri, Pushpagiri, Virupaksha etc., Thus politically and religiously a new impetus was given in the Karnataka Country by the great sage Sri Vidyaranya.

After the rule of the Sangama and Saluva dynasties from 1336 to 1505, the Kingdom of Vijayanagar came under the sovereignty of the third or Tuluva Dynasty. The climax of the Empire was reached in the glorious and eventful reign of Krishna Deva Raya, who was a great ruler and a great patron of letters and arts. His name is a household name even today in the Andhra and the Karnataka Country. In the words of Paes, quoted by Vincent Smith, he was 'Crisnarao Macacao, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land.' According to Vincent Smith, P. 305, 'in his time the Vijayanagar Empire comprised substantially the same area as the modern Presidency of Madras, with the addition of Mysore and the other native states of the peninsula.'

The Empire began to wane in its glory under the next sovereignty of Achuta Raya, the brother of Krishna Deva Raya. However, the material and the spiritual glory of the Empire seems to have been only transferred to another part of the country by the Unseen Hand of Providence. With the marriage of Murtimamba, the sister of Tirumalamma, the Queen of Achuta deva Raya, to the divinely gifted lad Chavappa, the protege of the Court Astrologer Govinda Deekshita, and with the gift of the Principality of Tanjore as the marriage dowry to Chavappa, and with the establishment of the Nayak Kingdom in Tanjore by Chavappa, with Govinda Deekshita as his minister, it may be said that the rule of Dharma, in the Land of Dharma, was transferred from Vidyanagara to Tanjavur, the place which had played a celebrated part in the ancient Pauranic

history of India and the place to which at a later date the original Mutt of Kamakoti Peetha was the move under pressure of historical circumstances.

(For a fuller study of the details, the reader is referred to my pamphlets, "Sri Sankaracharya and His Kamakoti Peetha" and "Govinda Deekshita, the Minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings".)

Father H. Heras, S. J. in his book on "The Aravidu Dynasty," the fourth and the last that ruled over the Empire of Vijayanagar, says, on p. 521, that 'the example of the Emperors of Vijayanagara in protecting learned people was followed by many of their feudatory chiefs, and continues thus :-

'From Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, all the Nayaks of Tanjore were most prominent as patrons of philosophers and poets. Sevvappa's greatest protégé seems to have been the famous Madhva Acharya, Vijayindra Tirtha. He was the disciple, first of Vyasaraya Tirtha of the Vyasaraya Matha, and then of Surendra Tirtha of the Sumatindra Matha, from whom he received the robes of Sannyasi, and whom he succeeded as the thirteenth Guru and Swami of the Matha. He spent the last days of his life at Kumbakonam. He earnestly defended the Madhva philosophy against the accusations of Apaiya Deekshita.'

As in the Karnataka country in the fourteenth Century, so in the Tanjore Principality, ruled by the Nayak kings in the Sixteenth Century, a spiritual warfare between the preachers of Advaitic Monism and of Dvaitic Pluralism was waged. The great Advaitic scholar Appayya Deekshita fought against Swami Vijayindra Teertha, even as Sri Vidyanarya warred against Madhva himself in the fourteenth Century. It was when Govinda Deekshita the minister of Sevvappa Nayak, saw the great learning of Appayya Deekshita that he asked Appayya Deekshita to write the Commentary on Kalpa Taru of Bhamati, a Gloss on the Sutra Bhashya of Sri Sankaracharya. Govinda Deekshita himself was a great student of Advaita philosophy and he is known as Advaita Vidyāchārya. It is indeed a curious fact that the great sage Sri Vidyanarya fought a spiritual battle and helped to establish a great Empire in the Karnataka Country in the Fourteenth Century, and it was, two centuries later the privilege of a distinguished scion of the Karnataka Country, Govinda Deekshita, to be the Advaita Vidyacharya and the Minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings for well nigh three fourths of a century.

That Govinda Deekshita was a great philosopher and an eminent scholar is mentioned by Father Heras. He says on p. 522, 'Sevvappa's son and successor, Achyutappa Nayaka, was likewise a patron of learning. In 1595 he made a gift of money for the merit

of Appaiya Dikshita. This was a good scholar of his court. But the most famous philosopher of his time was his minister Govinda Dikshita. He composed a long epic poem called *Harivamsasaracharitam*, in three cantos. There exists a commentary on it written by Appaiya Dikshita. Govinda Deekshita also wrote a musical work entitled *Sangita Sudhanidhi*. By order of Achyutappa Nayaka, at the instance of his minister, the *Tirucayigarnu Puranam* was translated from Sanskrit into Tamil.*

This is just a superficial tribute paid by the historian of the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar to the great geniüs of Govinda Deekshita. Any casual reader of the story of Govinda Deekshita's life and work is bound to feel that his was the Spirit that gave a fresh life and glory to the Chola Desa by his incessant labour not only for the material prosperity of the country entrusted to his care by the Nayak kings, Sevvappa, Achyutappa and Raghunadha in succession, but also for a great literary Renaissance in the Chola Desa.

Govinda Deekshita was a great student and teacher of Advaita philosophy, as established by the great Jagad Guru Sri Sankara Charya. He is referred to as Advaita Vidyacharya by Sri Rajachudamani Deekshita in his work *Tantrasikhamani*. His own son, himself a great scholar, Yagnanarayana Deekshita speaks of his father as Sri Pada Vākya Pramāṇa Pārāvāra Pirina Srimad Advaita Vidyāchārya. Another son of his, Venkata Makhi says that his father taught and established Advaita philosophy as taught by Sri Sankaracharya. Govinda Deekshita seems to have worked in collaboration with Appayya Deekshita and taught Advaita to several disciples. He himself wrote a concise treatise on the *Shaddarsana* for the use of his students. He also wrote a commentary on *Kumārila Darsana*, a Kimamsa work. Appayya Deekshita quotes from this work. Appayya Deekshita himself in his work *Siddhanta Lesa Sangraha* speaks of Govinda Deekshita as Advaita Vidyāchārya.

Besides his teaching and writing on Advaita Philosophy, Govinda Deekshita is reputed to be the real author of a standard work on music known as *Sangeeta Sudhanidhi*, though it passes as the production of Raghunadha Nayak. It is curious that in the introductory portion of *Sangita Sudha* reference is made to a work on music, *Sangita Sara* by Madhava Vidyāranya. The work has been put in print partly in The Journal of The Music Academy, Madras. Mr. P. S. Sundaram Ayyar B. A., L. T., writes in Vol. I. No. 1 of the Journal p. 56 that 'the Melakurta came into systematic existence during the time of Raghunatha Nayak's minister, Govinda Deekshita and his son Venkata Makhin has immortalised its existence.' He also says that it was Govinda Deekshita that provided

*Vide my "Govinda Deekshita"

the Vina with the twelve frets, and that it was he that modified and arranged the Arōha Avarōha list of the Janaka Rāgās and Janya Rāgās which is the valuable literary treasure in the library of every professional musician of the South even today.

Govinda Deekshita was the Court astrologer at Vijayanagara and he seems to have written a work on astrology, as is seen from a reference made to it in a Tamil work Tandava-malai. Govinda Deekshita is said to have written also a commentary on the *Sundara Kanda* of the Ramayana.

But Govinda Deekshita was essentially a statesman and a great deal of organised work in the field of politics, religion and education was done by this illustrious minister of the Nayak kings of Tanjore. He had the extraordinary advantage of being the minister of three kings in succession, for a long period and he commanded as such the special privilege of not merely renovating temples, establishing public gardens, inaugurating works of irrigation, founding charitable institutions and supporting institutions and individuals with state grants, but of creating a network of Pathasalas, corresponding to the Gurukulas of ancient times and thus keeping bright the torch of learning lit by the ancient Rishis of India. In fact in private life Govinda Deekshita was himself akin to a Rishi, for the purity of his life and for the strict Brahminical life he led, amidst the onerous duties of his career as a minister. He was so honoured by Raghundaha Nayaka that in the words of Govinda Deekshita's son and the Court Poet Yagna Narayana Deekshita, the illustrious minister was given ardashana or half-seat by the king, on his throne.' "According to the same author, Govinda Deekshita taught politics to the king Raghunadha Nayaka when he ascended the throne as the successor of Achutappa Nayaka".

While Govinda Deekshita was a scholar, author and statesman, his son Yagna Narayana Deekshita was *par excellenc*e a scholar and a poet. He is spoken of by Father Heras as the Court Poet of the Nayak King Raghunadha. He was a master of Vyākaraṇa, Tarka, Mimāṃsa and Advaita Velanta, in addition to being a poet. He had a great taste for the science of music and dancing. His *Magnum Opus* was the Kāvya known as *Sahitya Ratnakara*. This has been quite recently edited and published by Mr. T. R. Chintamani M. A., Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, University of Madras. He has given a critical and lucid introduction to the work. In it he says on p. viii, that three works have come down to us from the pen of Yagna Narayana Deekshita, *Sahitya Ratnakara* or *Raghunadha Bhupa Vijaya*, *Raghunadha Vilasa* and *Alankara Ratnakara*.

Sahitya Ratnakara is a Maha Kavya and we have in print sixteen Cantos of this masterpiece, and the work there ends abruptly, in the words of Mr. Chintamani. The poet seems to have been the

special favourite of Raghunadha Nayaka from his early years and he wrote this epic in honour of his patron. Raghunadha Nayaka himself was a distinguished writer, besides being a patron of learning. It is no wonder that Yagna Narayana Deekshita should lavish his praise on a king and patron of the type of Raghunadha Nayaka. The epic deals with the reigns of the first two kings Chavvappa and Achyutappa and then gives a close and vivid account of the birth and early years of Raghunadha, his taste in music, his proficiency as a scholar and warrior, his coronation and his political activities, always taking his counsel from his trusted minister Govinda Deekshita.

Raghunadha Vilasa is also devoted to the glorification of Raghunadha Nayaka. This is a drama, while the other is an epic poem. In the *Alankara Ratnakara*, a work on Rhetoric, also Raghunadha Nayaka is the hero.

Yagna Narayana Deekshita's brother Venkatesvara Deekshita or Ventaka Makhi, as he is popularly known, is a familiar figure in the world of music, as the author of the standard work on music known as *Chatur-dandi-prakasika*. This work, says Mr. Sundaram Aiyar, (Journal of the Music Academy, Vol. I. No. 1, p. 55), was written as a review of *Svara-Mela-Kalanidhi* of Bekara Rama Amatya of Vijayanagar, written in 1550 A. D. Mr. Subbarama Deekshita in his preface to *Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini* says that this work was written by Venkatesa Makhi under the patronage of the fourth and the last Nayaka King Vijiya Raghava. It was Venkata Makhi that reduced the old 22 svaras to 12 and designed the present Veena adapted to the 12 svaras. He was also the author of the present system of *Nelakarta*. Several songs composed by him are published in *Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini*. He was the teacher of Nilakanta Deekshita, the author of *Gangavatarana Kavya* and *Sivalilarnava* and of Rajachudamani Deekshita, the author of *Tantrasikhamani*. He also wrote a work called *Vartikabharana*, a commentary of the *Tuptika* of Kumarila Swami. It is a work on *Mimamsa Sastra* and Mr. Chintamani says that it holds a high place in the list of works on *Mimamsa*. He was also the author of a commentary on the *Karmānta* portion of the *Bodhayana Srauta Sutra* known as *Karmānta Vartika*. He also wrote *Sulba Mimamsa*, a treatise on Vedic Trigonometry based on the *Sulba sutras*. He is also credited with a work known as *Sahitya Samrajya*.

Mr. Chintamani refers to a work called *Sivasahasranama Bhashya* by one Lingādharin and thinks that the author was another son of Govinda Deekshita. (Preface to *Sahitya Ratnakara* p. ix).

18 GOVINDA DEEKSHITA AND HIS LITERARY SUCCESSORS[J.A.H.R.S.]

A small but an informing treatise on Astrology known as *Jataka Chandrika* was the work of Venkatesvarārya, son of Yagnanarayana Deekshita, as he says in the last sloka of the work.

The heritage of scholarship in the family of the great Karnataka Minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings, Govinda Deekshita passed on to the poet Vanchesvara, otherwise known as Kutti Kavi. His date is given in the Introduction to *Bhatta Chintamani* of Vanchesvara Yajva, as 1690-1760. Vanchesvara, otherwise known as Kutti Kavi, was the great grandson of Govinda Deekshita. He was the son of Govinda Deekshita's daughter's daughter. The story goes that when he went with Sahaji, the King of Tanjore (1687-1711) to Madura, the little lad Vanchesvara praised the king in an *ex-tempore* verse composed in the same metre as that in which the king praised the Goddess Minakshi in the temple at Madura, and that the king was so delighted with the lad's poetic capacity that he hailed him as "Kutti Kavi". He seems to have been attached to the court of King Sahaji and he wrote three Kavyas known as *Mahisha Sataka Kavya*, *Dhati Sataka*, otherwise known as *Turaga* and *Asirvada Sataka*. The first has been called a Maha Kavya by Vanchesvara Yajva, the great grandson of Vanchesvara, in his Commentary on this work, known as *Sleshartha Chandrika*. Both the *Mahisha Sataka* and the *Sleshartha Chandrika* afford interesting material for the student of Sanskrit poetry, to estimate the state of Sanskrit poetry in the eighteenth and the nineteenth Centuries. The poet Vanchesvara has lavishly used his power of writing the classical form of Sanskrit poetry replete with the Alankara known as Slesha. In his *Sleshartha Chandrika*, Vanchesvara Yajva has given a clear and critical exposition of the poetic talent of Vanchesvara Kutti Kavi, who was rightly called "Slesha Kavi Śārvabhauma." (notes 3 & 4)

The commentator of Kutti Vanchesvara's *Mahisha Sataka*, Vanchesvara Yajva was the son of Narasimha Sastri, son of Madhava Sastri the son of Kutti Kavi Vanchesvara. He lived from 1780 to 1860. He was a famous scholar of his time and his life was an eventful one as is seen from the introduction to his *Bhatta Chintamani* by Āryaswami. The story goes that he was a great scholar in his eighteenth year and that when at the Court of the Maharastra chieftain Amarasimha, he successfully displayed his talent in shastraic disputation, he was given the title of "Mani Kutti" or "Chintāmani Kutti" and came to be popularly known as "Kutti Sastri". He was given the title of "Vedamurti," as he was a very religious man and performed Vedic Yagnas. He undertook an all-India pilgrimage and was honoured not only by the King of Tanjore but also by the Maharaja of Mysore Sri Krishna Raja Odayar, who

was responsible for a new religious and political atmosphere in the province of Mysore, who is worshipped as an image in the temple of Sri Kantesvara in Nanjangud, and who himself composed the "Sri Singēri guru porampara stotra," as a great devotee of the Jagadguru.

He received special honours from the Sringeri Jagadguru Sri Narasimha Bharati Swami (1817-1879) and from the Sultan Haidar Ali (1766-1782). He was shown special honour during his pilgrimage, by the Maharaja of Mysore and by the Resident at Poona.

Besides being the author of the commentary on Vanchesvara's Mahisha Sataka, known as *Sleshartha Chandrika*, he has written other works, viz. a commentary on *Hiranyakesiya Sutra*, a Gloss on the Brahma Sutras known as *Brahma Sutrārtha Chintamani*, another work known as *Hiranyakesiyamānya sutra vyākhyā*, and a commentary on *Tarka Sangraha*. He was also the author of *Datta Chintamani*, *Sraddha Chintamani*, *Kakataliyavudurtha* and *Dhurgana Chandrika*. But the greatest work which he produced was *Bhatta Chintamani*, a standard work on Mimamsa Sastra, which from the possession of Vanchesvara Yajva's grandson Mahamahopadhyaya Venkatasubba Sastrial, late Principal of the Mylapore Sanskrit College, himself a master of Purva-mimāṃsa, has gone into the printer's hands, with the blessing of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetha, Sri Chandra Sekharendra Sarasvati, even as Yagna Narayana Deekshita's "Sahitya Ratnakara" published by the "Madras Law Journal Press" 1934. His Holiness who himself is one of the Kamakoti Peethadhipatis given to the Peetha by the illustrious family of Govinda Deekshita has only discharged a legitimate duty to that glorious family of scholars, poets and statesmen in this matter, an irresistible duty in his case, as the scholarship, statesmanship, poetic talent and erudition of the family shines also in His Holiness, who combines with these ancient Indian powers, the modern power also of a facile and charming expression, be it in English or Tamil or Telugu or Kannada or Sanskrit and also a capacity for research of a kind which has put into shade the most critical scholarship of the West.

The work by which Vanchesvara Yajva may best be remembered is his *Mahalinga Sataka*, in praise of Mahalingesvara of the famous shrine Madhyārjuna, one of the six great shrines considered to be equal to Kāsi, viz. Swētaranya, Panchanada, Gauri Māyura, Arjuna, Chāyāvana and Sri Vāṇchya, the birthplace of Vanchesvara. God Mahalinga seems to have had a special attraction for the family of Govinda Deekshita. We are told that on one occasion when the fourth Nayak king Vijaya Raghava became unpopular by his religious partisanship, Venkata Makhi prayed to this God for the grant

of wisdom to the king, in a melodious song. Kutti Kavi Vanchesvara refers to Mahalingesvara in his *Asirvada Sataka*. Vanchesvara Yajva wrote a symposium of verses on God Mahalinga. His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya Swami of Kamakoti Peetha in the course of the inspiring lectures delivered at Mylapore in 1932 devoted one whole discourse to the exposition of the special greatness of Mahalingesvara at Madhyarjuna Kshetra. Mahalinga or the great Linga occupies the Central position in Madhyarjuna in the Chola Desa, in the centre of the land where religious worship of Panchāyatana is marked by special shrines, Linga being in Madhyarjuna, God Subrahmanya being in Swami Malai to the west, God Dakshinamurti¹ being in Ālangudi to the South, Chandesvara being in Tiruchchainjalur in the North, and Nandikesvara being in Tiruvāvadudurai to the East of Madhyarjunam. Madhyarjuna Kshetra is the Garbha Gīha or the innermost Apartment, Somāskanda-Murti being in Tiruvārur, Sri Natarāja being in Chidambaram, and Sri Bhairava being in Siyāli. This great Linga was the deity specially worshipped by the family of Govinda Deekshita from the time Govinda Deekshita settled in the Chola Desa, as the minister of the Nayak kings of Tanjore. Govinda Deekshita himself lived in Pattisvaram. His family moved later to Tiruvisalur, a village near Kumbhakonam, the present seat of Kamakoti Peetha and Madhyarjunam, the Central shrine of Chola Desa.

1. The details regarding the position of the Kamakoti Peetha and the Mutts established by or connected with Sri Vidyaranya Swami are given in *Sri Mukha Darpana*, published at Tiruvadi, in *Sarvadhari* (1888-1889) by Sri Sivarama Suri, himself a Karnataka Brahmin, who became a Sannyasin and lived at Kumbhakonam.

2. It appears that in the twelfth Century, there flourished a Hosana Karnataka Kingdom in the Chola Desa, with its capital at Samayapuram Kannanur in the present Trichinopoly District. There is the temple of Sri Hoysanesvara in the place now. It appears also that Achuta-deva-*raya* gave four villages and established 108 Karnataka families at Kadaladi, a village in the Polur Taluk in the present North Arcot District. In his deed of Gift the names of the 108 Karnataka Brahmins, their Veda, Sutra etc., are given in detail. These agree with the *Sākha*, Sutra etc. of the Karnataka families that are domiciled in South India. Thus the Karnatakas were associated with the Southern portion of the peninsula as early as the twelfth Century and Govinda Deekshita moved to the Chola Desa in the sixteenth Century as the minister of Chavappa Nayaka.

3. The poem *Mahihṣa Sataka* has a special historical significance, apart from its poetic beauty. In the third stanza, the poet deplores the passing away of the great patrons of learned men, namely, the Minister Nānāji Channdrabhānu Prabhu, the king Sahāji, and the minister Ānandarāya, and says that with their demise the best times for the learned men had come to an end. He then instances the sad plight of two learned men named Sridhara and Ambu Dikshita, and shows his disgust with the change in the Ruling Powers and the neglect shown to Pandits. In the eighty-eighth stanza, he pointedly refers to the Moslem chieftain Chanda Khan compares the buffalo to him, and speaks of him as a Brahmin-hater. In Stanza 101, the last but one in the poem, the poet gives his benediction to Pratapa Simha, the King of Tanjore, whom he calls the full moon of the Ksheera-Samudra viz the kaosala Vomsa. From Vincent Smith (The Oxford History of India) we learn that Chanda Sahib was a great intriguer, who, with the aid of the French, gave considerable trouble to the Maharatta rulers of Tanjore, in the middle of the 18th Century and that he was executed under the orders of the Raja Of Tanjore, when he surrendered himself to the Raja, 'who,' says Vincent Smith, 'desired to get rid of an embarrassing prisoner.' (p 476).

The poet, seeing that patronage of learned men was not the policy of the Powers that be, says that Brahmins, under such exceptional circumstances, were permitted by the Sruti and by the Smrti-karta Manu himself to adopt agriculture as a profession, as Āpat-Dharma. For that profession the most necessary equipment being a *buffalo*, for tilling the land, the buffalo takes the place of the king to the learned brahmin. It is the buffalo that gives him food and wealth, and no longer the king or the Vedas or the Sastras. The buffalo is then praised as a king and in half of the poem running over forty-nine stanzas (52-100), full of figurative language, the buffalo-king is compared to a true king fit to be anointed, for he has the qualities of a king, in an abundant measure. (St. 51, 52). Even if the Brahmin should thus lead the quiet life of an agriculturist, the poet says, the king's tax-gatherers don't allow him to live without their molestation. The poet institutes elaborate figurative comparisons between the buffalo and a child, an Avadhani learned in the Vedas, a follower of Madhvācharya, a Yogi, a Vaishnavite, a Deekshita, Brahman the Absolute, Devendra, Manmadha, Sālagrama, Samudra, Hanumanta, Kārtaviryārjuna, a great poet, Kalidasa's Prabandha, Bharata the author of Nāṭya Sastra, the ten Avatars of Vishnu-Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nrsimha, Trivikrama, Parasurama, Rama, Balarama, Kṛṣṇa, Baudha, Kalki, Paramesvara the Lord Siva, a mountain, the lesser deities, Arjuna, Karna, the heroes of the Mahabharata, Dṛoṇacharya, Ravana, Chandaḥkan, a Vyākaraṇa

Pandit, a Tarka Pandit, a Mimamsa Pandit, a Prabandha Grandha, the Nava Rasas or poetic Passions, a lusty lover, a Vita-purusha, Vāli the Vanara Chieftain, the heroes of Lanka, Ashta-Dik-Palakas, the receivers of the great gifts or Dānas, and the several heroes of Kishkinda. These figurative and stretched poetic comparisons in which the hero is the buffalo, display the satirical outlook of the poet and at the same time serve to show the erudition of the learned poet, who reminds one of the great poet of England, Alexander Pope, the poet who gave a permanent place to all the greater and the lesser poets of his age in his epic poem the Dunciad. From stanza 101, however, it is clear that the purpose of the poem from the poetic point of view was neither to glorify the buffalo nor satirise the rulers of the day, so much as to use these devices as the garb for establishing the fundamental Truth of Advaita Philosophy, as his commentator Vanchesvara Yajva says in his Sleshartha Chandrika.

4. Vanchesvara Kutti Kavi had an elder brother by name Rama Sastri. He was invited to Seringapatam by the Mahammadan Chieftain and there under his auspices he wrote a poem *Sri Rama Ashtapadi*, in which the whole story of Sri Ramachandra is set to music, even on the lines of Jaya Deva's Ashtapadi etc., The booklet was printed and published in Mysore by Chakravarti Aiyangar, attached to the court of Sri Krishna Rajendra Odayar. Therein the author of Sri Rama Ashtapadi is referred to as Sri Rama Kavi, of Sahajindrapura otherwise known as Tiruvisalur, the place where the descendant of Govinda Deekshita settled. He is also called a great poet of Chola Desa. A Copper-plate Inscription of Saka Samvat 1608 (A. D. 1686) belonging to the Kamakoti-Peetha (No. X-Copper-plate Inscriptions belonging to the Sri Sankaracharya of the Kamakoti Peetha) says that an agrahara in Melupaka, near Changæpattu was given by the then Peethadhipati, Sri Mahadeva Sarasvati to Rama Sastri, of the Hoysana Karnataka sect, belonging to the Asvalyana sutra and the Vamakayana-Visvamitra-Gotra. It cannot be ascertained now whether the grantee of the gift, Rama Sastri, could have been this poet Rama Sastri, the brother of Kutti Kavi. But the date of Kutti Kavi's life 1690-1760, and the fact that Rama Sastri was the elder brother of Kutti Kavi, combined with two circumstances, viz. the unusual reference to Sri Rama in the invocation at the end of this grant by Sri Sankaracharya who is the worshipper of Sri. Chandramoulisvara, knowing as we do that this Rama Sastri was a great devotee of Sri Rama as is seen in his work Sri Rama Ashtapadi, and the pointed reference to the poverty of learned men in the opening stanzas of Mahisha Satakam by Rama Sastri's younger brother Kutti Kavi, after the death of the great patrons Nānāji, Chandrabhānu, Sahāji and Anandarāya, (stanza 3) make it plausible that this poet Rama Sastri received this grant of an agraharam from the then Kamakot

Peethadhipati. Probably this poet went to the Court of Serinagapatam, wrote the Rama Ashtapadi but was not well patronised by the Chieftain. We see Kutti Kavi in his Mahisha Sataka (stanza 8) advising his friend Sridhara not to go to Seringapatam, as he would get there not patronage but only fever, for which Seringapatam is even today notorious. It appears that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the fall of the Nayak kingdom and the early Maharashtra rulers at Tanjore, the condition of the learned brahmins became really unenviable, as is evident from the language of Kutti Kavi in the Mahisha Sataka.

Two New copper-plate Inscriptions of Vijayaditya VII of E. Chalukyan Dynasty.

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1. *History of the plates.*

Both the sets were first discovered in a village called Ryāli in East Godavari District in 1924 and noticed in the Epigraphical Report for Madras for 1924-1925. They were described by my friend Dr. C. Narayanarao M. A. L. T. Ph. D. and a Paper on the same was read before the A. H. R. Society in 1926. Though ten years have elapsed since the discovery of these valuable records, they have not yet been published anywhere and recently, my friend sent his own Readings and Notes as well as the Rubbings to me for what use I could make and since I already edited one copper-plate Inscription of this very same king discovered at Pamulavaka in Vizag District in our Society Journal Vol. II pp. 277-289, I decided to study them. I revised the Readings in several places and prepared a paper for publication. But I first read the same before the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference held at Baroda in December 1933 when attended the same as the Delegate of the Andhra University.

Both the Original Plates are now deposited in the Madras Museum. They were noticed in the Annual Report of the Madras Ep. Dept. as C. P. No. 8 and C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25. Excepting the portions dealing with the villages granted and their boundaries, the other matters are practically common to both sets. Hence, the complete Readings of C. P. No. 8 along with those of two sides of C. P. No. 9 dealings with boundaries are given.

2. *Description of the Records.*

Both belong to the same king of the E. Chalukya Dynasty while C. P. No. 8 mentions the king's name as Sarvalōkāśraya Vishñuvardhana Vijayādityādēva, C. P. No. 9 mentions it as Sarvalōkāśraya Vishñuvardhana Mahārāja. The gifts in both were made on the occasion of *Uttarayana* in the 12th regnal year of the king. The language of both is Sanskrit except the portions dealings with boundaries which are given in Telugu of the early middle age. The Alphabet is of the transitional period known as Chalukya *lipi* or early Andhra *lipi*. The gifts in both were made to the same scholar known as Pampana Bhatta. Both were composed by Muttaya Bhatta.

Both were engraved by Paṭṭala. Both sets contain five plates each and on the seals of both we get the same legend in Telugu characters viz, Śrī Tribhuvanamkuśa.

The first Set (C. P. No. 8) contains five oblong plates of the usual later E. Chalukya type, strung on the ring the ends of which, passing through a hole of about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter, are soldered into the back of a circular seal of 3" in diameter on which are found the symbols and a legend in the following order:

1. A Chāmara, the Sun, an Umbrella, the Crescent and a Chāmara.
2. A Samkha and a Damaru.
3. The legend "Śrī Tribhuvanamkuśa, in Telugu lipi.
4. An Elephant-goad in the horizontal position with the hook pointing downwards.
5. A Lotus with a long stalk, A boar facing the proper left and the Khatvaṅga.

The Plates measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Plates with the ring and seal weigh 354 Tolas. All the plates have their rims raised so as to protect the writing contained on them.

The second Set (C. P. No. 9) consists of 5 Plates strung on a ring which passes through a hole about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. The ring measures 5 inches nearly in diameter. To the ring is attached a circular seal about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, on the counter-sunk surface of which is engraved the legend in Telugu characters "Śrī Tribhuvanamkuśa". Above the legend are engraved in the following order the Chalukyan symbols:

The Sun,	An Umbrella,	The Crescent
A chāmara		A chāmara
A Damaru	and	A Śamkha
An Elephant goad or Amkuśa.		
The Legend "Śrī Tribhuvanam kuśa in Telugu characters.		
Lotus	Floral design	Khatvaṅga.

The Plates measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5 inches and weigh with the seal 315 tolas. The rims are raised to protect the writing on the sides.

(4) *Subject-matter of the two Inscriptions.*

Both the sets of plates record the gifts of *Sarvalōkārāya Viṣṇuvarddhana Mahārāja Vijayāditya* who was the seventh of the name in the E. Chalukya Dynasty and who was the brother of Rāja Rāja Narēndra, the E. Chalukya Emperor who patronised the

work *Āndhra Mahā Bhāratam*. The gifts in both the sets were made to Pampanabhāṭṭopādhyāya in the 12th regnal year of the king on the occasion of *Uttarāyana Samkrānti*. The date is not given in Śaka years but as Rāja Rāja died in A. D. 1063 and as Śaktivarma, the son of Vijayāditya ruled for one year, we get 1064 as the first regnal year of the Donor. Since both the Grants were made in the 12th regnal year, A. D. 1075 would be their date.

(5) *Language and Alphabet.*

The language is Sanskrit except in the end where the limits of the villages granted are mentioned. Mediaeval Telugu is employed to describe the same.

The script is Later Chalukya or Tel-kannāḍa. It is the Transitional type between the old Vengi type and the modern type. It has therefore certain peculiarities found in *Āndhra Mahā Bhāratam* also. The *Samāsas* are formed in a way peculiar to us now and so people who edit or print the *Āndhra Mahābhāratam* must have a knowledge of the peculiar *Samāsas* (phrases) and *Padams* (words) used in the later Chalukya C. P. and stone inscriptions. The meanings of several words used in these inscriptions of 11th Cent. A.D. have now become obscure. Several orthographical peculiarities are also observed and these should be specially studied by philologists.

6. *The Donee, the Donor and the Donations.*

The Donee in both the Grants is Pampana-bhāṭṭopādhyāya, a resident of Posudōva in the southern country. He drank away the ocean of literature like Agastya. Like a diamond, he possessed the refulgent Śāstras. He reached the other shore of the Vēdas and Vēdaṅgas and mastered Mimāṃsa Śāstra. He belonged to Parasūra Gōtra and observed all religious duties. His father and grand-father were also great Vedic Scholars and Masters of all Śāstras. The Donor's full name is Śrī Viṣṇuvarddhana Mahārājādhirāja, Śrī Vīra Vijayādityadēva. The last name alone is not found in the second set (C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25.) The genealogy and the chronology of the whole dynasty are given, as in the inscription of this king already edited by me, till the reign of Rāja Rāja. In fact, the first 48 lines of these two inscriptions are the same as those found in the one already published by me. From Viṣṇu to Bhārata and then to the five Pāṇḍavas and then to Udayāna, we get merely the names of kings. Commencing with Udayāna 59 kings ruled over Ayōdhya. Then, Vijayāditya went to the Dekkan but died while fighting against Trilōchana Pallava. His son Viṣṇuvardhana ruled over the Dekkan having defeated the Kadambas, Gaṅgas and other tribes. His son, Vijayāditya was succeeded by Pulikēsin. His grandson Kubja Viṣṇuvarddhana ruled over

Vengi for 18 years and founded the E. Chalukya Kingdom. The 26th king from him is the Donor. The names of the intervening kings and their regnal periods are given as usual. Finally, it is stated that the Donor *took the kingdom* and placed his own son Śaktivarma II on the throne and after his death ascended the throne himself.

In the first Set, the village of *Krumduya*, lying to the south of modern Drakshārāma, was granted and in the second Set, the village of *Maviṇḍēru*, lying to the south of Kōrumilli, was granted. Both were granted to the same Donee. Both the villages belong to Ramachandrapur Taluq of E. Godavari Dt. The Poet who wrote the two inscriptions is Muttaya-Bhaṭṭa. The Scribe is called Paṭṭala.

7. *Text of the Inscriptions.*

Except in the last portion, where the villages granted are defined with boundaries, the texts are almost the same in both plates. The first 48 lines of these inscriptions, which form exactly half the text, are the same as those of the C. P. inscription already published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pp. 277-289. The whole text of the first Set (C. P. No. 8 of 1924-25) is given below. The text portion at the end of the second Set (C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25) is also given. (Vide Fourth plate, second side and Fifth plate, first side.) The photo-prints of the Rubbings of these two sides as well as that of the Fourth plate, first side are given along with those of the first Set for the last five sides for the benefit of the scholars.

There are several mistakes committed by the scribe and the necessary readings are shown in the foot-notes.

8. *Historical Importance of these Inscriptions:*

After giving the usual genealogy and chronology found in the later Chalukya Plates upto the reign of Rāja Rāja who is said to have ruled for 41 years, both the records state that the Donor called Vijayāditya, born to Vimalāditya and the Chola princess Mēdava, took the kingdom on account of military prowess and placed his own son Śaktivarma on the throne. He ruled for one year and died and so Vijayāditya, out of regard for *Dharma*, took the reins of Government and established the Goddess of Victory with the help of his own arms. Since Rāja Rāja's accession took place in A. D. 1022 according to several later E. Chalukya Plates and since he is credited with 41 years' rule, he must have died in 1063 A. D., when Vijayāditya took the kingdom and made his own son Śaktivarma II rule for 1 year after which he ascended the throne himself in 1064. Since both these grants were made in the 12th regnal year they must belong to A. D. 1075.

In the previous record of this king, published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pp 277-289, it was stated that Rāja Rāja ruled for 12 years and then the kingdom was captured by Vijayaditya whose coronation date was mentioned as Ś. 952 or A. D. 1030. This would make A. D. 1018 the first year of Rāja Rāja's reign and the last year of his father's (Vimalāditya's) reign and this is exactly what is known to us from the Ranastapudi Plates of Vimalāditya which state that he was crowned in May 1011 A. D. He is credited with 7 years' rule in most records and so his rule must have ended in 1018 when Raja Raja might have succeeded. This would agree with the dates mentioned in the Pāmulavāka Plates already edited by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pp. 277-289. From A. D. 1018 to A. D. 1030 (12 years) Rāja Rāja ruled when he was overthrown by Vijayāditya. His coronation date is therefore mentioned as A. D. 1030 (Śīman Śākē Samaughe dṛḡṣunidhimitē Ś 952 or A. D. 1030) and it might be right. But all this is omitted in the present Ryali Plates (both Sets) as evidently it was considered a *usurpation* or probably as a *purely temporary affair* because Rāja Rāja again secured the throne and ruled till 1063 A. D. When again the throne was taken by Vijayaditya by his own valour and conferred on his own son, although Rāja Rāja's son, Rājēndrachōladeva II or Kullōttunga Chōladēva was alive. This was probably due to his being absent in the South. This may be called the second usurpation. It is important to note that the Grants mentioned in the Pāmulavāka Plates were actually made by him in *his second regnal year*. This would suggest that he actually ruled for some years and the usurpation was a solid fact. Was the throne captured as the result of a Civil War? This is not known to us from the Pāmulavāka Plates. On the other hand, the fact is mentioned that *in the absence of Rāja Rāja (parōkē)* the Vengi Kingdom was taken by force (*ghīdya rājyam*). Probably, when the King was absent in the capital, a revolution or plot secured the throne but it must have been a short-lived rule. The present Records solve this historical puzzle by stating that, after Raja Raja's rule of 41 years, his throne was captured by his step-brother who ruled more securely and for a longer time than before. The fact of the first usurpation was not mentioned as it was considered either unnecessary or discreditable. But the fact of the second usurpation is clearly mentioned.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION.

(C. P. No. 8 of 1924-1925).

Plate I, Second side.

1. Śīdhāmnah purushōttamasya mahatō Nārāyaṇasya prabhō
rnnābhīpamkaruhādbabhūva jagata-
2. ssraṣṭā svayambhū statah jajñe mānasasūnu ratri riti yastasmān
munēratritassomō vamsakara-
3. ssudhāmsu ruditaś śrīkantha chūḍāmaṇiḥ tasmād-āsīt-sudhā-sūter
bbudhō budhasutas tatah tasmā-
4. tpuṛurava nāma chakravartī savikramaḥ tasmāḍāyus tatō Nahuṣas
tatō yayātis chakravartī ta-
5. taḥ Pururitī chakravartī tatō Janamejayāśvamēdha tritayasya
karttā tatah Prachīśah tatasSainya-
6. yātis tatō Hayapatis tatas Śārvvabhūmas tatō Jayasēnas tatō
Mahāyōmas tasmā-l-Aisānakah
7. tatah Krōdhānakah tatō Dēvakis tasmād Rbhukah tasmād Rks-
hakah tatō Mativaras satrayāga-yājī
8. Sarasvatī-nadī-nāthah tatah Kātyāyanastatō Nilastatō Dusyam-
tah tatputrah Gaṅgā-Yamunā
9. tīrō yadavacchinnam nidhāya yūpānkramasah kṛtvā tadhāsva-
mēthānnāma mahākarmācharata iti yō la-
10. bhata tatō Bharatād Bhūmanyus tatas Suhotrastatō Hastī tatō
Virōchanas tasmād-Ajamīlas tatas Samva-
11. ranah tasyādha tapanasutāyās-Tapatyāścha Sudhanva tatah Pari-
kshit tatō Bhīmasēnah tatah pradīpanah
12. tatas-Samtanus tatō Vichitraviryah tatah Pāṇḍurājah Putrās-
tasyacha Dharmmaja Bhīm Ārjjuna Nakula Saha
13. dēvāh pañchēndriyavat pañcha syur vviṣaya-grāhīṇas tatrā yēnā-
dāhi vijitya khūṇḍava madhō Gā-
14. ṛdivinā Vajriṇām Yuddhē pāsupatāstram-andhakaripośh-ālābhi
daityaan bahun Imdraardhaasana

Plate II First side.

1. madhyarōhi jayinā yatkālikēyādikān jityā svairamakāri vamsa-
vipina-ccchēdah Kurūṇām.
2. vibhōh tatōrjunād-Abhimanyus tatas Parikshit tatō Jana-
mējayah tatah kshēmukas tatō Nara-
3. vāhanah tatas-Śītānikas tasmā-l-Udayanah tatah prabhṛtisv-
avicchinnā samtānēsv-Ayōdhyā-simhāsanaś-inēsv-ēkōṇna-
4. ṣaṣṭi chakravartīṣu gatēsu tadvamśyō Vijayādityō nāma rāja-
vijigīṣayā Dakṣiṇāpatham gatvā Trilōchana Pa-
5. llavam-adhikshipya daiva-durīhayā lōkām̐taram-agamat tasmīn
samkulē purōhitēna vṛddhāmātyaiścha sā.
6. rddham-amtarvvatnī tasya mahādēvī Mudivēmu-nāmāgrahāram
upagamya tad-vāstavyēna Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sō-
7. mayājīnā duhitṛ-nirvviśēṣham-abhirakshitā Viṣṇuvarddhanannam-
danam-asūtāsā tasya Kumāra-
8. sya Mānavyasa-gōtra Hārītputra dvipaksha-Kramōṣitāni Kar-
mmāni kārayitvā tam-avarddhaya.

9. t sa cha mātṛā-vidita-vṛttāntas-san-nirgatya Calukya-girau
Nandām bhagavatīm Gaurimārādhyā Kumāra Nā-
10. rāyaṇa mātṛ-gaṇamscha samtarpya svētātapatraika samkha
panica mahā-śabda pālikētana padhakka varā-
11. halāmechana pimcha kumta simhāsana makaratōraṇa kana-
kadāṇḍa Gaṃgā-yamunādīni svakulakramā-gatā-
12. nī nikshiptāniva sāmbrājya-ciḥnāni samādāya Kadamba-Gam-
gādī bhūmipān-nirjjitya Sētu-Narmma-dā-ma
13. dhyam sūrdhasapta-laksham Dakshināpatham pālayāmāsa
tasyāsid Vijayādityō Viṣṇuvarddhana bhūpatēh
14. Pallavānvaya-jāṭayā Mahādevyāśca namdanah tatsutah Pulakeśi
Vallabah tatputrah Kirtivarmmā

Plate II Second side.

1. tasya tanayaḥ śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna Māna-
vyasa- gōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām Kauśi-
2. kī vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyaṇām mūtygaṇa-paripālītāṇām Svāmī-
Mahāsena-pādānudhyātāṇām bhaga-
3. van-nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāhalāmechana kṣhaṇa-
kṣhaṇa-vaśīkṛtārāṇi maṇḍalāṇām
4. aśvamēdhāvabṛtha-śnāna-pavitrikṛta-vapuśān cālukyāṇām kulam-
alamkarīṣṇōs-Satyāśraya-vallabhēmdrasya
5. bhrātā Kubja Viṣṇuvarddhano-śālāśa-varṣāṇi Vemgī dēśam-
apālayat tad-ātmaṇō Jayasimha-vallabhastraya
6. trimsatam tadanuja Imdrarājas sapta dināni tatsutō Viṣṇuvar-
dhanō nava-varṣāṇi tatsūnurṃ Maṃgi-Yuvārāja
7. pamcavimsatim tatputrō Jayasimhastrayōdāśa tadavarajaḥ Kok-
kili-śśanmāsān tasya jyēsthō
8. bhrātā Viṣṇuvardhanas-tam uccātya sapta-trimsatam ablān tat-
putrō Vijayāditya-Bhātārakō-
9. śālāśa tatputrō Viṣṇuvardhanassat-trimsatam tattanayō Narēm-
dramrgarājāścāṣṭa-catvārimsatam ta
10. tputrah Kaliviṣṇuvarddhanō-dhyarddha-varsam tatsutō Guṇaga
Vijayādityas-catūs-catvārimsatam tadbhrātūr Vikra-
11. mādityasya tanayaś-Calukyabhīmas trimsatam tat-sutah Kolla-
bhigaṇḍa Vijayādityah śanmāsān tat-
12. sūnur-Ammarājas-sapta varṣāṇi tam Yuddhamallam parihṛtya
dēśāt piśtvētareśamapi śatravāṇām kṣmām Amma-
13. rājānuja rājabhīmō Bhīmas-samā dvālaśa raksati sma sat-putra-
yōr-Daśaratha pratimasya tasya Bhī-
14. masya Rāma-Bharatopamayōḥ Kanīyān Dānārṇṇav Āmma-
nṛpayōr-atha pamcavimsaty abdhā

Plate III—First face.

1. narakṣad-avanītaḥ-Ammarajah dvaimāturō-mma-nṛptēr-Dān-
nṛpō Raja-Bhima-nṛpa tanayaḥ vidya
2. kalāpa-caturaś-caturamṭa-mahim - apāt-samās - tisrah anu-Dān-
rṇṇavad-āsīd-daiva-dusēheṣṭaya tataḥ saptaviṃ-
3. śati-varṣaṇi Vēṃgī-bhūmir-anāyika atramṭarēDānanarēṃdra-sūnu
śrī Saktivarmmaḥsura-rat-sadharmma
4. yaś-saurya-saktyā vinihatya śatrūn - sadvādaśābdan - samarakṣad
urvviṃ tasyānujaḥ palitavān-athā
5. bdan gāṃ sapta saptābdhi vilamghi - kīrttiḥ śrī-raja-Chalukya
kula pradīpas-tejōnidhir-Mummadi Bhīma-bhū
6. paḥ tasya śrīman-ātmaḥ Rājarājō rājat-tēja rajavams-āgraganyah
saikāṃ catvāriṃsatam vatsa-
7. raṇam kṣōṇī-rakṣā-dakṣiṇō-rakṣatisma api ca Vimalāditya-ccchōḍa-
nvayaika lakṣmyā-
8. śca Mēdava-mahadēvyāḥ ajani(ja)va śrī-nityō Vijayāditya-narē-
śvarastutyah parōkṣē
9. Rājarājasya bhratur-dvaimaturasya yaḥ pary-agrahīn-mahīrajya-
śriyaṃ vīraśriyā vutah gṛhī
10. tva svasutē snēhāt rājaṃ śrī Saktivarmmani nyastam tasmin
dharam-ēkaṃsaṃ-rakṣyabdam divaṃ gatē aprāpta-
11. nubhavē sutō vidhivaśāt prāpt ābhimanyav-iva svarggaṃ tyakta-
rucis-sukhēṣu Vijayādityadhipah Pārththavat
12. āsīnē vibudhaiḥ Kulakramāgatair-āptair-alaṃ bōdhitō dharmmaṃ
sthāpayitum Kadhamcid-akarōt buddhiṃ dhara-
13. rakṣaṇē nirjētum dviṣatam bhayam Kalimalan nirdhūya dhar-
mmyan-dhuraṃ sandhāy-ayuga-varttanān-nija bhujēṣaṃ-

Plate III- Second face.

1. sthāpya vīra-śriyaṃ dēva-śrī-karavāla bhairava nṛpē saktē
dharam rakṣitum prdhvī kama-dughabhavat-kṛtayuga sparddhā-
nvi-
2. tōbhūt-kalish uccair-nnīnadita nijairtha payōruh-āgrō yō bhūpa-
tirvvvidhṛta-karunnuk-khadga-cakraḥ yuddhē vidam-
3. bayati garjjita-paṃcajanyaṃ saurim sanandaka sudarsana śara-
nga cāpam Bhīmaṃ gadāyan-dhanuṣ īmdrasunum ku-
4. ntayudhē yō Nakulam tathaivo hayādhīrōhē Sahadēvam-uccair-
vidvēṣṭya jētair-api prayētaḥ kalpanōkaha puṣpa
5. vat-kavijanaḥ karnṇavatamsikṛtō rājājñēva sitātapatra-sucirā
bhūpaiś-śirōbhīrd-dhṛta strībhiścandana-carccikēvahr-

6. dayē liptā sudhāṃśu-prabhēv- āśācakram-alamkarōti dhavalā
kīrttir-yadiya bhṛṣaṃ yē yātā Bharatādāya
7. ssukṛtinō yad-vamśaja bhūbhṛtas-satvātra pratipāditārjjita-dhana
ssatyaikavācaḥ purā tēprā-
8. yēṇa yugōnurūpa guṇinaḥ katē kalāvapy-ahō satyaika-sthira-
dhīs-sadarp pita-dhanō yas-sōma-
9. vamśottamaḥ yas-satyavāk sva-caraṇ-ārppita-cakri-Bhīmasēnō-
pamarddita ripu-kṣitipāla-lōkaḥ dharmmōda-
10. yaḥ Kaliyudhiṣṭhira nāmadhēyaḥ Sri-Viṣṇuvarddhana-nṛpōrj-
juna-kīrtti-lōlaḥ sa sarvvalōkāśraya sri-Vi-
11. ṣṇuvarddhana maharājādhirājō rājaparamēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭ-
tārakaḥ paramabrahmaṇyō mātā-
12. pitṛ-pādānudhyātō Sri-Viravijayadevaḥ *Guddavāḍi-viṣaya-nivā-
sinō Rāṣṭrakūta-
13. pramukhaṇ Kutumbinas-sāmāhūya māṃtri-purōhita-senāpati-
yuvarāja-dauvarika-

Plate IV—First face.

1. *¹ sanākṣam-ittham-ajñāpayati āsit-pitāmahō yasya pitāmaha-
sama-dyutiḥ Pampanāryya
2. iti khyatō vēdavit-sarvva-śāstravit tasmād-ajani sat-sēvyahKeśavaḥ
Keśavōpamaḥ adhīta-vē-
3. da-vēdaṃgas -sarvva-śāstrarthta-tatvavit tasmāt śrīmān-aśeṣōṇa
pītva vāṅgmaya-varidhim u-
4. ditō dakṣiṇāśāyam-Aastya iva yō munih iṣṭam-iṣṭaṃ yatō lōkaś-
chāstra-tatvaṇi samu-
5. jvalaṃ salakṣaṇaṃ samādatte ratnaṃ ratnākarād-iva *² tasmai
Posudōva-vāstavyāya
6. Vēdavidē vēdaṃga-paragāya mīmāṃsa-śāstra-guravē Parāśara-
gōtrāya śatkarmma-
7. niratāya Pampanabhattōpādī-yāya nāmnē asmat-śaṃtāna-bal-
āyur-ōrōgyaisvaryaḥhi-

* In the second set, this proper name is omitted in this connection. (Vide last line in the first face of fourth plate). All other matter is common to both (Vide Photographs of C. P. Rubbings)

* 1 This line is given as line 2 in the second face of fourth plate of second side. The matter that follows in each six *After this line* differs till almost the end of the inscription. (Vide the concerned photo blocks of both sides.

* 2 Certain attributes, found in this context in the second set (Vide from line six in the second face of fourth plate), are omitted here, e. g;
Jñānasitunahvilakarma pariḥ śramaṇa sarwāsti payāsti jētā saccakasamstāpita
pādapadmō vibhātī yōbbhūsa cakravatti

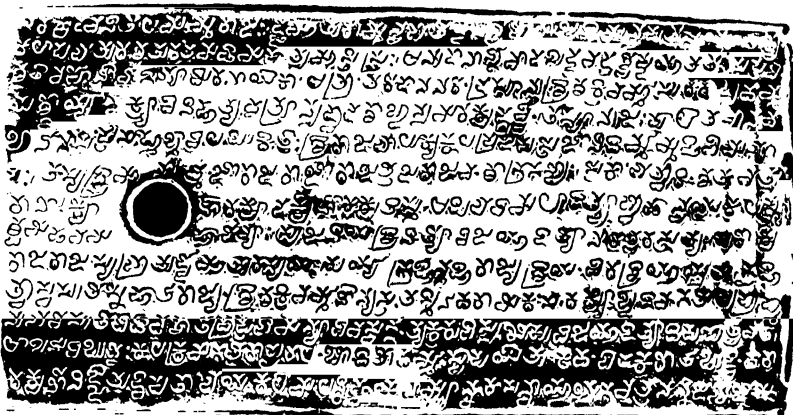
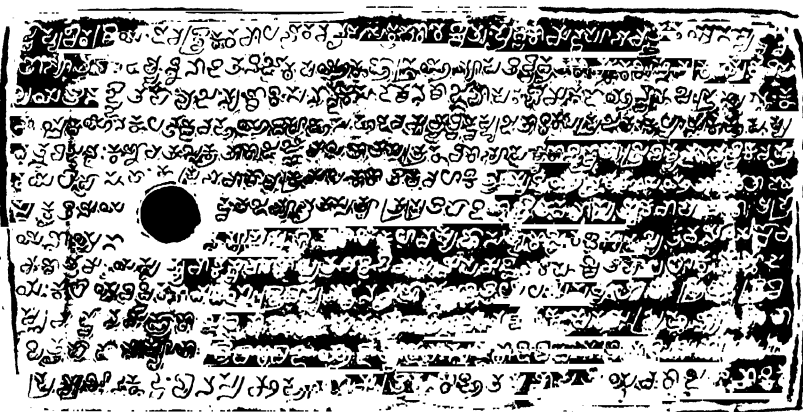


Plate III, Face II.



8. Vṛddhyartham-uttarāyaṇa nimitte *³ MāvīṇḍēRu--nāma-grāmas-sarvvakara-parihārēna sarvvana-
9. masyaṃ datta iti viditam-astu vaḥ asy-āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ Kūḍlah dakṣinataḥ Kadamuṃ
10. Gga paśeimataḥ Saṃpaniya uttarataḥ Kōrumilli asyaiva kṣētra-sīmānaḥ pū-
11. ravataḥ Māvundēti polamunuṃ gūḍla-polamunuṃ Gōrumilli-polamunuṃ gūḍi-

* 3 From here, the matter differs in both Sets quite naturally as the boundaries of the Grants are described.

Second Set (C.P. No. 9 of 1924-'25) Fourth plate, second face.

1. Kūṭapramukhān kuṭumbinassamāhūya maṃtripurōhita sēnāpati Yuvarāja dauvāri
2. ka samakṣa mittha mājñāpayati āsitpitā mahōyasya pitāmaha samadyutiḥ paṃpanā
3. ryya itikhyātō Vēdaśāstrārthta tatvavit tasmātsama bhūtkēśava-śarmma samaditavēdāvōḍaparam
4. gah yatpragñēbhvāḥ pāraṃ vidvadbhinnōvagamya śamatinōbhīh tasmāt Śrīmānāsōpēnā pītṭvāvaṅgma
5. yavāridim uditō dakṣiṇāsāyā magastya ivayāmusriḥ iṣṭamiṣṭaṃ-yatō lōkaścāstra
6. tatvaṃ samujvalaṃ salakṣaṇaṃ samāddhatra ratnaṃ ratnākara-diva jñānāsīlīnāḥ vilakarṃma
7. parih śramaṇa sarvvāsvī payāsvī jētā saccakra saṃsōvita pāda-padmo vibhātīyō bhūsure
8. cakravartī tasma posudōvanāmagrāma vāstavyāya paṃpanā-ryyaya parāśaraḡōtrāya ṣaṭka
9. rṃma niratāya smatsaṃtāna balāyurārōgyaiśvāryyābhivṛddhayaḥ kṛmduyenāma grāmaṃ sarvvā
10. yakara parihārēna sarvvanamasya magrahārikṭvā ēkabhīgi cali-visampatsa hita-muttarāyaṇa
11. nimitta datta iti viditamastuvāḥ asya grāmasīmānaḥ pūrvvata vīravijayāditya brahmadhēyah
12. dakṣinataḥ paccarvapaḷliḥ paścimataḥ pādaripaḷliḥ uttarataḥ dākṣārāmah asyavṛksatra sīmānaḥ

Plate IV—Second face.

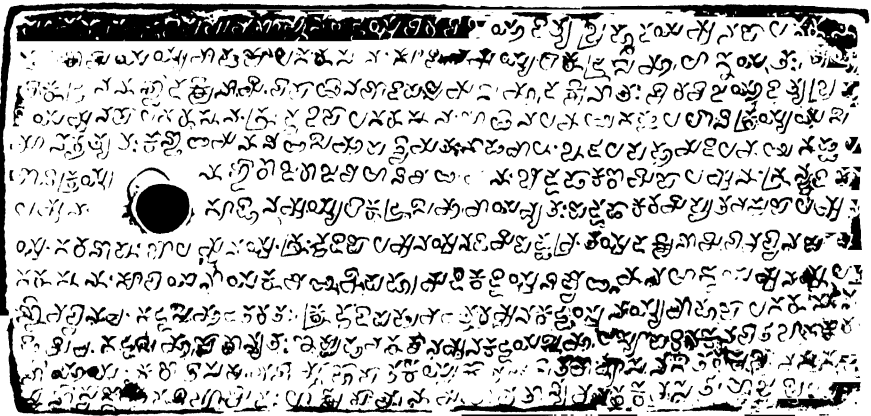
1. na muyyāli - kuṭṭṛananuṇḍi dakṣiṇa-mimci-pōyina Muṇḍakōliya
sīma āgnēya-
 2. taḥ | Kūḍa-polamu-lōni kaḍamula-kōli paḍumaṭi-kommunuṇ Gaha
mukkunayu Mā
 3. vuṇḍēti polamunuṇ gūḍina muyyalikutra sīmā | dakṣiṇataḥ Mā-
vuṇḍēti kā-
 4. tṛēni vanamu dakṣiṇamuna emgattapodala sīmā | nairṛtyataḥ ku
Rṛu lōpugām gala
-

Second set (C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25)

Fifth Plate, first face.

1. pūrvvataḥ kṛuṇḍadi paduva tūrppuna kaṭṭayu Vīravijayāditya
Brahmadayamuna polagarusu
2. ḍākarōmi yayyavāḍa polagarusunuṇ gūḍina muyyalikutrasīmā
āgnēyataḥ muyya
3. li kuṭṭṛananuṇḍi dakṣiṇānimci pārina cōdipallamasīmā dakṣiṇa-
taḥ Vīravijayāditya brahma
4. dēyamuna polagarusunuṇ gruṇḍudi polagarusunuṇ bārina avuṇu-
gaḍḍalalōni krayyayasi
5. mā nairutyataḥ kaṇḍaramanu neraśīmā paścimataḥ gāḍavālumu-
buṭṭala paḍumati avuṇugaḍḍala
6. lōni krayyanuṇḍi Rāja Rāja vō ānivōruvunuṇ beddadākīrōmi pola-
munuṇ grundudipo
7. lamunuṇ gūḍina muyyalikutrasīmā vāyavyataḥ peddadākarami
pṛtavaṣa polamuna
8. yuṇ garaṇapumbolamunayuṇ gruṇḍudi polamunayuṇ naḍimi
peddavramṭayu dakṣiṇamim ciṇvaccinapola
9. garusunuṇ gūciyanāyaku ceruvu paḍumati kaṭṭayu nicceruvuna
āgnēyamuna mīlanu
10. ṇḍi vaccina emgattasīmā uttarataḥ kṛuṇḍudi paduva uttaramuna
kaṭṭayu nayyavāḍa polagarusuna
11. ḍimi emgattasīmā aiśānyataḥ ippaduvakīśānamuna kaṭṭayasīma
asyōparinakēnacit bādḥākara
12. nīyāyah karōti sapamcabhirmamahā pātakaiyyuktō bhavati tadḥā
vyāśēnagītaḥ ṣaṣṭivarṣasaha
13. srāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah ākṣēptācānu maṃtāca tānyēva
narakē vasēt ājñaptih paṃca

C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25, Plate V, Face I.



By the courtesy of the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

5. polomunaku sampaniya polagarusa 'sīmā ' pascimataḥ Kōrumilli Nā-
6. rana peddiri cēni molli-monanuṇḍi tūrppimeci vaccina Nārana shadaṃ gavu
7. la cēnanuṇḍi uttarameci pōyina Kōrumilli polagarusa sīmā ' va-yavya
8. taḥ Kōrumilli polamulōn - uttarameci pōyina addapuṃ - drōva dakṣiṇamu talaya
9. sīmā ' uttarataḥ ' addapuṃ-drōva dakṣiṇamu talanuṇḍi tūrppimeci pōyina Kōrumi-
10. lli polamunu Māvunḍēti polamu naḍimi avuṟugaḍḍala-lōni pallama sīmā '
11. aisānyataḥ Kōrumilli ,polagarusunu Māvunḍēti polagarusunu naḍimi a-

Plate V—First face.

1. vuḷḷu gaḍḍala-lōni pallamuna-nuṇḍi dakṣiṇameci pōyina Kōrumilli polamu
2. na mollimona nairṭi-mūlaya sīmā ' *asyōpari na kēnacit bādbā karaṇiya
3. yaḥ karōti sa paṃcabhirm - mahāpātākais - saṃyuktō bhavati ' tathōktaṃ Vyāsa-muniṇā ' ṣa-
4. ṣṭiṃ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ ākṣēptā cānumantā ca tānyēna
5. narakē vasēti ājñaptih paṃca-pradhanāḥ kavir-iha Muttayabhaṭṭaḥ lōkhakaḥ
- * 6. Pattalaḥ śrīmad-vijaya-raja saṃvatsara dvādasē dattam-idam śāsanam ||

* From here again till the end, the matter of the two plates is identical.

REVIEWS & NOTES

An Estimate

By Purāṇatatwa Visārada, S. P. L. Narasimhaswāmi,
Vizagapatam.

In the article entitled "*Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas*", by Mr. Govind Pai, in Part I, Volume VII of the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (for July 1932), the writer tries to reconstruct the genealogy of the Pallava-kings who reigned at Kanchi. In the course of his work the writer quotes 27 inscriptions including copper-plates, stone slabs and pillars. The writer makes no difference in the valuation of their historical contribution and the range of importance. In my humble opinion had he attended to the scrutiny of this important work of valuation, his work of reconstruction would have been simplified and his contribution would have been a valuable one. I draw the attention of the readers to the following conclusions arrived at in the course of his Paper.

(1) The writer says "consequently, we can easily and correctly identify Vijiya Skandavarma of the Ongodu (No. 1) plates with Skandavarma of the Mangalur, Pikira and Ongodu (No. 2) plates, as in each case, the father's name is Viravarma."

Simply because the title "Vijaya" is optional and the name of the father is the same, can we, merely on these grounds, affirm the identity of the person? We cannot. Why cannot we presume that Viravarma of the Mangalur, Pikira, and Ongodu (No. 2) plates is the grandson of Viravarma of the Ongodu (No. 1) plates? A grandson is generally named after his grandfather.

(2) Again we find, "So the only possible alternative is that Simhavarma was the elder brother of the donor Crown-prince Vishnugopa."

This is rather a very bold conclusion. There is nothing even to suggest the relationship. A number of other similar suppositions can also be made. Why cannot the king be the uncle of the Crown-prince? The king can even be supposed to be the grandfather. Of course, when the king has no sons or nephews, a cousin or even a distant cousin, will be the only alternative.

(3) On page 3, it is found "Whence we can easily make out that Skandavarma and Kandavarma are one and the same person, as Kanda is merely a vulgar or vernacular variant of the Sanskrit name Skanda."

We presume that the language of the inscriptions in question is Sanskrit, as the writer has not elucidated the point. When the language is Sanskrit, the identity cannot be possible. Sanskrit poets would not allow vernacular words to find place in their writings, except in very rare and under forced circumstances. 'Skanda' can never be made 'Kanda' by a Sanskrit poet even of ordinary talents. This fact only suggests for a scrutiny in the question of deciphering.

(4) Now we come to the remark "Consequently the misnomer *Yuvamaharaja* Vishnugopa of the Mangalur, Pikira, and Ongodu (No. 2) plates his own son Simhavarma (II) which is likely to mislead to the conclusion that the said Vishnugopa was a life-long crown prince and never ruled as king has to be rejected as evidently a mistake of the composer or the engraver of those plates, due perhaps to his ignorance or inadvertance."

The above inference is not conclusive. Why not Skandavarma be the second son of Vishnugopa, as the grandson is generally named after the grandfather. The genealogy would be extended to four more generations. The Mangalur, Pikira, and Ongodu plates are grants by Simhavarma, the son of Vishnugopa. It is impossible to think that the name of the father of the ruling king, the donor, is mistakenly written. The king would never allow it. It might be that the reading of the word "Yuva" is mistaken.

Vishnugopa is to be read as 'Maharajah' only in the light of the Guntur, Chura, and Kasakudi plates and the Vayalur pillar inscription. The two letters read as 'Yuva' might be connected with the previous word. Unless the original record is examined we cannot definitely say anything.

(5) The fragment G of the Vayalur pillar inscription and the Udayendiram (No. 1) grant mention the same kings, while the former gives one more name extra in the beginning. Now the question is how to connect these names with those of the genealogy. No clue is found in any of the inscription for such a connection. The writer presumes that Skandavarma of the Udayendiram (No. 1) grant is the same person as the son of Viravarma. An alternative and more suggestive presumption can be made by making Viravarma of the Vayalur pillar inscription, the grandson of Viravarma, grandfather of Vishnugopa, thus giving a brother to Maharajah Vishnugopa.

(6) Another inference on page 9, goes as "It is therefore certain that Kumaravishnu and Sivaskandavarma are but two different names of one and the same king, who performed the *Asvamedha*." The writer argues that the Omgodu plates of Vijaya Skandavarma say that the donor's great grandfather (Kumaravishnu) performed an *Asvamedha*. The Prakrit Hirahadagalli plates of Siva-Skandavarma say that the donor performed many sacrifices including *Asvamedha*. Hence Kumaravishnu, the great grandfather of Vijaya Skandavarma must be the same person as Siva Skandavarma, on the ground that both performed an *Asvamedha*. Is there any law that no two members of the same family should perform an *Asvamedha*? The names of the two kings are quite different. What harm is there, if on insufficient grounds, we cannot establish the relation of a certain King?

(7) On page 12, we read "comparing the last 3 steps of this table F with the first 3 steps of the previous table E, we find that Budhavarma of this table is identical with Skandavarma I of that table, and also that Kumaravishnu II of this table is identical with Viravarma of that, and further that the connecting link between these two tables is Vijaya Skandavarma alias Skandavarma II whose name stands fourth in that table, and who therefore becomes Skandavarma III." How can these statements be believed? The writer now here proved that Budhavarma is identical with Skandavarma I. Why cannot the last King of F and the first King of E be identical? What suggests him to make the identity overlap 3 steps?

I have thus pointed out some of the fallacious statements of the paper.

Aryan Path.

We are in receipt of the new volume part (1) of the *Aryan Path*. This magazine has had a glorious career and we wish it every success.

A. R. R.

Date of "Amuktamalyada."

BY

K. Iswara Dutt, B.A., (Cocanada)

The age of Kristnadevaraya is called the Augustan age of Telugu Literature. The Emperor not only patronised that language but also wrote Amuktamalyada, a monumental work in it. The poem throws light on the contemporary political events, social customs and also the economic conditions of the people. Hence the date of the composition of the poem will be of special interest to the students of the Vijayanagar history. The Emperor narrated the circumstances under which the work was written by him in the introductory stanzas as follows:—

"In the introduction to the poem, Kristnadevaraya says that while on his expedition against Kalinga he stayed for a few days at Vijayavati, and went to Srikakulam to worship the God Andhramadhusudana of the place and spent the Ekadasi fast, at that place. On that night in the fourth watch, (Yama) the God appeared to him, and recounting the several works which he wrote in Sanskrit, Madalasa-charitra, Satyavadhuparinayam, Sakalakathasarasangraham, Suktinaipunignanachintamani and Rasamanjari, directed him to compose the story of Goda (Andal, the daughter of Vishnuchitta, Pervavar, one of the twelve Vaishnava saints) in Telugu. Telugu was according, to the God, the best of the Desabhashas and could alone be understood by all those assembled in his courts. He exhorted the king to dedicate it to God Venkateswara"¹

Thus we know, from the above information furnished by the Emperor-poet, that he was at Srikakulam on an Ekadasi day. There is an interesting inscription at that place corroborating the statement of the Emperor. From that we understand that Kristnaraya visited the temple on the Kumbha sankranti day in the Saka year 1440, of the cyclic year Bahudhanya, and granted a number of villages belonging to the Kondapalli sima for expenditure towards the daily worship of the God Andhravallabha². Let us calculate the equivalent English date of the Kumbha-sankranti day in S. 1440, and see if that date coincides with an Ekadasi day also.

I. The commencement of the Solar year for Saka 1440 is March 27 7754 + Kumbha Sankranti 305 0850 = 332'8604. Thus 332'86 days from 1st March 1518 A.D. is January '26 36 of 1519 A.D. As '86 day goes beyond midnight the Khumbha Sankranti fell on the 27 1-1519.

II. Let us also see if an Ekadasi fell on that day. Actual ending moment of Ekadasi:—1st new moon in the solar year 1518 A.D. = 13'5250 + Maghabahula Ekadasi 291'3685 = 304 8935. (2) (Sun's equation for 23'77 days = '11 and moon's equation for 23 77 days is '29:) total '40.

1. Sources of Vijayanagar History. Pages 132-133

2. No. 981 of the South Indian Inscriptions Vol. IV.

(3) Commencement of the Solar year for S. 1440 = 27-7754. Totalling (1) (2) & (3) we get 333'0689 or 333'07 days. (Moon's anomaly $7'840 + 15'822 = 23'662 + '11 = 23'77$).

Thus 333 days from 1st March 1518. A.D. fell also on 27th January 1519 A.D. From the inscription we learn as above that the king visited the God on 27-1-1519 A.D. The fact is also corroborated by his statement that he fasted on that day, and was inspired to write the poem 'Amuktamalyada'. Therefore that date, viz., 27-1-1519 A.D. is one of the important dates in the History of Vijayanagar Empire and also a land mark in the development of Telugu Literature.

Indian Culture.

The Journal of the Indian Research Institute, Annual subscription Rs 6/- Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Hon. Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 55 Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient History of India and her great culture. It is a quarterly journal and deals with topics relating to Indian History, Geography, Art, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Religion, Folklore, Philosophy, Ethnology, Anthropology etc. etc. from the earliest times down to the medieval period. The excellent character of this new journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars, seem to make Indian culture rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch making journal, the Indian Antiquary. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the Indian Antiquary, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India to-day. 'We wish it all success.

B. V. K.

*II of Vol. IX together
As Part I is not yet
Part I will follow imme-
diately.*

A. RAMA RAO,
President.

wamy Naidu,
Rajahmundry. 9201-'35.
Engineering works, Rajahmundry.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. IX. } October 1934. } Part 2.

THE KAMBOJA INSCRIPTION OF BHAVAVARMAN AND KĀLIDĀSA.

BY

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The date of Kālidāsa is one of the unsolved problems of our literary history. Everything, that sheds any light on the question should, therefore, be welcomed by historians and Sanskritists. The description in Bana's *Kādambarī* makes Kālidāsa earlier than Harsha. The Aihole inscription shows that he had by 634 A. D. become recognized as a great poet throughout the length and breadth of India. But the Kamboja inscription is even more important inasmuch as it shows clearly that about 600 A.D. Kālidāsa's fame as a poet and dramatist was confined not merely to India, but had travelled to distant lands like Cambodia where poets studied his works and copied his ideas, style, and language. As this could not possibly happen without the lapse of a hundred years in those days of slow communication, we might at least reject the theory which places him in the second half of the sixth century. We give below a few verses, some of which have already attracted the attention of other writers, to show how close the resemblance is between the style and ideas of the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa, and the Cambodian inscription referred to just now.

- (a) राजा श्रीभववर्मेति पतिरासीन्महीभृताम् ।
अप्रधुष्य महासत्त्व स्तुङ्गो मेरुरिवापरः ॥
(Kamboja inscription, v. 2)
सर्वातिरिक्तसारेण सर्वतेजोऽभिभाविना ।
स्थितः सर्वोन्नतेनोर्वी क्रान्त्वा मेरुरिवात्मना ॥
(*Raghuvamsa*, 1, 14)
- (b) सोमान्वये प्रसूतस्य सोमस्येवपयोनिधौ ।
(Kamboja inscription, v. 3)
दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव
(*Raghuvamsa*, 1, 12)
- (c) शरत्कालाभियातस्य परानावृततेजसः ।
द्विषामसह्यो यस्यैव प्रतापो न रवेरपि ॥
(Kamboja inscription, v. 6)
दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां रवेरपि ।
तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः प्रतापं न विषेहिरे ॥
(*Raghuvamsa*, 4, 49)
- (d) यस्य सेनारजो धृतमुज्झितालंकृतिष्वपि ।
रिपुस्त्रीगण्डदेशेषु चूर्णभावमुपागतम् ॥
Kamboja inscription, v. 7)
भयोत्सृजविभूषणां तेन केरलयोषिताम्
अलकेषु चमूरेणुश्चूर्णप्रतिनिधीकृतः ॥
(*Raghuvamsa*, 4, 54)
- (e) तस्य राजाधिराजस्य नवेन्दुरिव यः सुतः ।
गुणकान्त्यादिभि र्योगादुन्नेत्रयति यः प्रजाः ॥
(Kamboja inscription, v. 17)
पुरुहूतध्वजस्येव तस्योन्नयनपङ्क्तयः ।
नवाभ्युत्थानदर्शिन्यो ननन्दुः सप्रजाः प्रजाः ॥
(*Raghuvamsa*, 4, 3)

Other instances too can be given. But those being not as clear as these have been left out.

SPIRITUAL VIBRATION

BY

BRAHMACHARI PRANAVANANDA. GANGOTRI, (HIMALAYAS)

“कार्यं यत् विभाव्यते किमपि तत् स्पन्देन स व्यापकम्।

स्पन्दश्चापि तथा जगत् सुविदितः शब्दान्वयी सर्वदा ॥

सृष्टिश्चैव तथेयमाकृति विशेषत्वादभूत् स्यान्दिनी।

शब्दश्चद्व्यादभवत्तदा प्रणव इत्यो काररूपः शिवः ॥६॥ योग शास्त्रे

“Whereever and whenever any work is done, there is produced a motion or vibration; whereever and whenever a motion or vibration is produced, there is produced a sound. In the act of creation also the sound of the first motion of the equipoised nature is Omkara of Sivarupa.”

That is at the end of dissolution or Mahapralaya, when there arose a Sankalpa in the Almighty Lord “ एकोऽहं बहु स्याम्. May I become many from the one, i.e., May I do the creation ? ” there arose a motion or vibration in the Universal Prakriti. That first sound which arose in the beginning in the Universal Prakriti is called Pranava-nada.

“ The whole universe is full of molecular vibration. Any word or Mantra, either good or bad, we utter outwardly or inwardly, shall create molecular waves gross, subtle or more subtle, which spread throughout the length and breadth of the universe.” S. J.

By thinking with the mind, by speaking with the tongue and by doing Karma with the body, there is produced in the atmosphere a motion or molecular vibration which is subtle or gross and the effect of that vibration spreads on each and every object. Therefore every man should try as far as possible not to do any act either with the mind, tongue (speech) or body that would set up a bad vibration and also everyone should try always to keep away from such a vibration.

The universe is pervaded by gross, subtle and more subtle molecular atmosphere and the atmosphere pervades the body in the form of “Prana” or universal energy. The act of inspiration and expiration is being done with air. The air that goes in and comes out through inspiration and expiration carries with it the outward vibrations to inside and the inside vibration to outside. Thus the ingoing

vibrations have a lesser or greater effect upon the mind of that person depending upon the lesser and greater intensity of the vibrations existing in the mind. But if those vibrations on which they fall, are of greater intensity, then the effects of those outside atmospheric vibrations on that mind shall be very little, because the inside vibrations would at-once repel those outside vibrations that have come in. Though thus the antagonistic vibrations are expelled, they produce some effect or other on that mind. If such antagonistic vibrations that are inside are weak they may even sometimes destroy them and spread their evil effect fully. If the internal vibrations are of the same type as the undesirable ingoing external vibrations, then the effect of those undesirable external vibrations on the mind shall be quicker. For example, when vibrations conducive to sensuality enter in and fall upon a mind which is already full of sensuous vibrations, the effect of the external sensuous vibrations upon that person shall be very great and quick, i.e., that person becomes more sensuous. Thus whatever kind of vibration may be either spiritual, monetary, or sensuous, they will be affecting the mind; so also the internal vibrations that go out through expiration spread out in a greater or lesser degree, to a greater or lesser distance for a greater or lesser time according to the degree of intensity.

Those whose mental capacity (Sankalpa Shakti of the mind) is great can send forth the vibrations of their mental Bhāvas to a greater distance and the effect of those vibrations remains for a long period. Moreover a man can spread the effect of his Sankalpa Shakti upon the minds of a greater number of people if his Sankalpa Shakti (mental capacity) is great. But the vibrations of the Bhāvas of a weaker mental capacity can neither spread to a greater distance, nor for a greater period, nor can affect upon the minds of a greater number of people. But we have to note one point here. The effect of the vibrations of the Sankalpas of those only who are full of Satwic Sankalpas shall be great and increasing day by day. Yet the effect of the vibrations of bad Samskaras also is in no way less, because especially now-a-days, the atmosphere is to a greater extent pervaded by the vibrations of bad Sankalpas and the minds of the people at large are also full of vibrations favourable to those of the bad Sankalpas. Generally a person receives those vibrations only very quickly which are of the same type as are existing in his mind.

Those whose minds are full of bad Sankalpas like Vishada, shoka, fear, himsa, hatred, enmity, abhimana, miserliness, greediness, anger, desire, lust, timidity, etc., are not only doing harm “अनिष्ट” to themselves but also they are doing harm to others by spreading the bad vibrations of their bad Sankalpas in the atmosphere around them.

Therefore the effect of the vibrations of those bad sankalpas falls upon the minds of the people who are in their (bad peoples') vicinity or surrounding in a lesser or greater degree. By the presence of those people whose minds are affected thus, the whole of the atmosphere there, inside as well as outside, becomes polluted or contaminated; and when even an innocent plain-minded person goes to those surroundings, he is often affected by those bad sankalpas and is irresistably and helplessly swept away and acts according to those bad sankalpas. For example: (1) Though the Maharajah Yudhishtira has got the title of Dharma Raja by virtue of his knowing all the Dharmas and Adharmas, when he went into the atmosphere full of the vibrations of the bad sankalpas of that evil-mined Duryodhana, all that evil effect spread upon or affected the mind of Yudhishtira and changed his mind in such a way that Yudhishtira helplessly and irresistably was led to gambling with him and lose everything belonging to him including his wife, Draupadi. This is an example of the effect of the atmosphere full of bad vibrations pertaining to an individual. (2) There goes a story in the Ramayana that when Sita, Rama and Lakshmana were wandering in the Dandaka forest, at a particular place, Lakshmana, who was worshipping and serving his adorable elder brother, Sree Ramachandra till that time, rebelled against him; but when he left that place and went a little further Lakshmana got his old consciousness and began to serve and adore his brother. This is an example of the effect of the vibrations pertaining to a place.

When incense is burnt in a particular place, its gross material good scent spreads at that place as well as in its surroundings for a short or long period according to the good quality of that incense and if anybody goes into that atmosphere he will be affected by the good scent. So also, the atmosphere in those places where Mahatmas, Sadhus, Sanyasins, Yogins, Jnanins, Siddhas, Munis, Rishis, Maharishis, Tapaswins, Mahavratis, Sadhakas and the like live and have lived, is full of vibrations of their good actions, good speeches and good thoughts or sat-sankalpas. Just as a magnetic field of the magnetic force is formed around a magnet, so also there is formed a field of the spiritual vibrations in those places, where the above said Mahatmas have lived and done Sadhana. Just as every particle of iron that comes into the magnetic field is attracted and affected by it, so also the mind of every person who comes into the spiritual atmosphere or spiritual vibration or spiritual field is attracted and affected by it spiritually. In those places where such Mahatmas have lived—though they might not have done any virtuous external actions and though they have not made any Upadeshas through their virtuous speeches, the atmosphere shall be full of vibrations, which are pure and which are saturated with Satwik or harmonious Bhāvas. Readers should note that those

places, which are now considered to be Tirthas or Siddha-sthanas or pilgrim places or holy places, were once the abodes of great Mahatmas, where they had performed their Tapas and spiritual sadhanas. So it is said in *Srimat Bhagavata* 7-11-27/34 that :—

अथ देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्मादि श्रेय आवहान् ।
 स वै पुण्यतमो देशः सत्पात्रं यत्र लभ्यते ॥२१॥
 बिम्बं भगवतो यत्र सर्वमेतच्चराचरम् ।
 यत्र हि ब्राह्मणकुलंतपो- विद्या दयाजितम् ॥२७॥
 यत्र यत्र हरेरर्चा स देशः श्रेयसां पदम् ।
 यत्र गङ्गादयो नद्यः पुराणेषु च विश्रुताः ॥१६॥
 सरांसि पुष्करादीनि चैलाण्यर्हा श्रतान्युत ।
 कुरुक्षेत्रं गयाशिरः प्रयागः पुलहाश्रमः ॥३०॥
 नैमिषं फल्गुनं सेतुःप्रभासीऽथकुशस्थली ।
 वाराणसी मधुपुरीपम्पाबिन्दुसर स्तथा ॥३१॥
 नारायणाश्रमो नन्दा सीतारामाश्रमादयः ।
 सर्वे कुला-चला राजन्-महेन्द्र मलयादयः ॥३२॥
 एते पुण्यतमा देशा हरेरर्चाश्रिता च ये ।
 एतान् देशान् निषेवेत श्रीमत्कामो त्वमीदृयाशः ॥३३॥
 धर्मोऽप्यमोदितःपुंसां सहस्राधिक फलोदयः ।

In the book called *Suddha Tattwa*, the cause of the sanctity or holiness of Tirthas or places of pilgrimages, has been described thus :—

प्रभावाद-द्भुतादप्राप्तेःसलिलस्य च तेजसः ।
 परिग्रहान्मुनीनाञ्च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता ॥

“Tirthas are said to be sanctified or as considered holy by the great efficacy of earth, water and fire and by the fact that Munis or Sages have lived there.

Jijnasus, Mumukshus or spiritual aspirants generally go to such Siddha-sthanas or pilgrim places, where they are influenced by the spiritual vibrations that pervade those places either knowingly or unknowingly and by performing their spiritual practices there they attain spiritual progress day by day. Again in turn, by virtue of those spiritual aspirants, the spiritual vibration of those Siddha-sthanas

becomes much more intense. As time passed on, since the receptive capacity of the Sadhaks decreased, when Mandadhikaris मन्दाधिकारिणः went to such places they were affected unknowingly by the spiritual vibrations existing there and thus they formed a blind faith in those places. In order to externalise their blind faith that was in them they began to construct some memorials in the form of temples, Aramas, pagodas, tanks, wells, etc. and installed their favourite deities in those places. You should know that almost all the present Tirthas, pilgrim-places or holy-places with temples etc., are the Siddha-sthanas with the spiritual vibrations described above; that the importance of those Tirthas is due to the high spiritual vibrations that are there; that the Siddha-sthanas like Badrikashram, Gangotri, Kedarnath, Kailas, Manasarovar, etc., were once the places where Rishis, Maharishis, Yogis, Siddhas, and the like had done penance in olden days; and that the temples, monasteries, etc., that are existing there are of recent origin. As time went on, the pilgrims who go to those Tirthas—which have become Tirthas by virtue of the spiritual vibrations that are existing there—are unable to realise the full significance of the effect of the said spiritual vibrations; and so they are simply worshipping the deities in the temples existing there according to their faith and inclinations. Unfortunately people at large, in general, have not been benefitting themselves by the great spiritual vibration that is existing there, to the extent to which they ought to have been benefitted. But there are rarely some Sadhaks and some Mahatmas, who have been benefitting themselves consciously by the wonderful effects of the spiritual atmosphere that is existing there.

Although many of these places are full of wild and cruel animals like tigers, chitas, bears, wolves, poisonous serpents and scorpions, etc., though some of these are in the midst of thick forests—like Omkar, Brahmapuri, Vasishtaguha, Rudranath, etc.—though some places are in the midst of high sky-kissing mountain ranges—like Harmukuta, Sharada, Narada, Vishnupada, etc.,—though some places are devoid of trees or even small twigs to make fire and are on high plateaus—like Kailas, Manasarovar, etc.,—though some places are in impenetrable dark and big caves—like Muchikunda Guha, Guthikonda Bilam, etc.,—though in some such places there is the impending danger of death every minute due to terrible landslips and mighty avalanches, and though in some places the path is very difficult and dangerous and though such places are devoid of any fruits or roots or food stuffs and in some places are full of terrible thunders and lightnings and heavy rains—like Amaranath, etc.,—those extraordinary individuals who have fully known the wonderful effects of the spiritual vibrations there and also those ordinary individuals who have realised

the effect of the spiritual vibrations there to some extent, go to such Siddhasthanas without minding the scorching sun, downpours of rains or severe cold, without minding the thunders or lightnings, without minding the cruel animals, not caring for the fearful landslips and avalanches, not minding hunger or thirst or any bodily troubles or dangers; and stay there for a day, a week, a fortnight, a month or an year or for some time according to their convenience and benefit themselves by the spiritual vibration there according to the capacity of their receptivity. It is due to the benefit of the spiritual vibration that is existing there that there is an injunction that pilgrims to the Siddha-sthanas should stay there at least for three nights. Some of the so-called modern civilized people devoid of discrimination and spirituality think it to be useless and waste of time, money and energy to go to pilgrim places. But we can emphatically say that going to Siddhasthanas and staying there for some time for spiritual practices is no waste of time, money or energy. There are people in this world who when they go to a place where good-scented incense has been burnt don't feel the good-scent of the incense there; and there are also people who do not even try to enjoy the good incense; and there are also people who would say that they feel a bad smell there. We are not angry with them; but we simply pity and sympathise with them for their ignorance. Just as a man, the mucus membrane of whose nose has become dull, cannot perceive the good scent of an article, so also, it is no wonder if a person devoid of spiritual tendencies "अध्यात्मिक वासना" cannot perceive or feel the effect of the spiritual vibration existing in a particular place.

We hear from the ancient history of Aryavarta that even the wild animals have given up their cruel and inimical nature in the surroundings of Rishyashramas*; that within an area of eight miles around Kakabhushundashram none had the bad impulses of lust, anger, etc., "अध्यात्मिक वामना"; and that when people went to the Ashrams of Atri, Bharadwaja, Vasishta, Gautama, Vyasa, Badari and the like they (people) used to feel a sort of internal bliss. Even now-a-days, in the surroundings of Kailas and Manasarovar and in several other such places, even the most wandering mind, to whatever religion he may belong—whether he be a Hindu or Buddhist; whether he be a Christian or a Mohammadan, whether he be an atheist or an agnostic—becomes

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- In the annals of Gangotri, we never heard that any tiger or bear or any other wild animal has molested any person, though we hear of several such incidents at Lilang Mukuva, Dharali and further down.

concentrated and irresistably and unknowingly and unconsciously feels the Divine Presence, that is hidden behind the apparent vast universe, as if propelled by some one from behind; and a good Sadhaka may even enter into sublime ecstasies involuntarily. Is it due to any grand natural scenery of any grand forest there? No. Those places are devoid of any trees; bare mountains and snow clad peaks; uninhabited and uncultivated. There are more beautiful peaks than the Kailas and more beautiful lakes than the Manasarovar. It needs no special mention that the greatness and the speciality of these places is due to the grand and most sublime spiritual vibration existing here. This is our personal experience of such places * which are in the Himalayas and on the banks of the Holy Ganges, Jumna, Narmada, Sindhu, Godavari, Krishna, Kaveri, Tamraparni, etc. and in several places in this Bharatavarsha. In Badrikashram where, in ancient times Nara Narayana and other Rishis did penance, where, in after ages Muchikunda, Vyasa and other sages did penance, and where in the middle ages Sree Sankaracharya and others did penance, there in that Ashram, at a particular place called Kalapagramam, in our own times, our most revered Master Sree Bhagawan Swami Jnananandagiri Yatindra Pujiyapada did penance staying there stark naked when snow was falling. During the course of a talk His Holiness Sree Swamiji said, "As soon as you (a Sadhaka) go to Kalapagramam the grand spiritual vibrations that are existing there make you sit for meditation irresistably as if being goaded and propelled by some one from behind and make you drink deep at the fountain of spiritual nectar or bliss". When one goes to Pandarpura, where several Bhaktas did their spiritual Sadhana, however dogmatic one may be, one will be over-powered with sublime waves of devotion. So also when one goes to the Gurukula Vishwa Vidyalaya at Hardwar or to the Dayananda Anglo Vedic College at Lahore ideas or Bhāvas of Ancient Aryan culture, plain-living and high thinking, ideas or Bhāvas of self-sacrifice, and ideas or Bhāvas of service to the Society and mother-land swell up in the mind.

* We give a comparative rough estimate of the intensity of the spiritual vibration of a few important Tirthas as far as our experience goes :—

1. Manasarovar	...	...	100	10. Tunganath	...	...	64
2. Kailas	...	...	99	11. Abu	...	...	64
3. Gangotri	...	...	79	12. Omkar (Narmada)...	...	...	64
4. Kedarnath	...	...	75	13. Vishnupada (Kansarnag)...	...	...	60
5. Manasakhanda in general	...	...	75	14. Sharada	...	...	55
6. Vasudhara (Kalpagramam?)	...	...	70	15. Harmukuta	...	...	55
Village by name Kalapa							
7. Badrinath	...	...	66	16. Seshnag	...	...	54
8. Rudranath	...	...	65	17. Kedarkhand in general	...	...	50
9. Jannotri	...	...	64	18. Amarnath	...	...	50

But, one, without any spiritual tendencies “अध्यत्मिक वासना” or one, devoid of any spiritual Sadhana may doubt or may even mock at the existence of the vibrations of spiritual atmosphere in the Siddha-sthanas or Tirthas above described. Let him do so. But who is he after all to give his opinion upon or to discuss about the pros and cons of the spiritual vibrations? Is it a Vakil that is the right Judge for deciding a site for a sanitorium? Is it a doctor that is the right judge to decide a law point? Is it an ordinary pilgrim from the plains that is to decide the proper mountain streams, the water of which is fit for drink? Is it a schoolboy that is the right judge to decide which soil is suitable for a particular crop? Just as a doctor is the proper judge for the selection of a sanatorium; just as a vakil is the right man to decide the law-point; just as a mountain shepherd is the right person to decide the streams the water of which is drinkable and the valleys the pastures of which are grazable; and just as an agriculturist is the proper authority to decide the different soils that are suitable to different crops, so also it is only the spiritual Sadhaka and none else that is the right judge to give decision or opinion about the spiritual vibrations.

When by virtue of Mahatmas, Rishis, Munis, Jnanins, Yogins, Sadhakas, and the like living in different places, those places are being saturated with spiritual vibrations and are becoming Siddha-sthanas, we need not specially say that those who happen to come in actual contact with the living Mahatmas or sages are effected by the spiritual vibrations that are set up by them (Mahatmas) and that the lower sanskaras that are in them (people) are wiped off and that they are spiritually elevated. It is on account of this fact that the company of Mahatmas and Sadhus has been prescribed in the Shastras as one of the best Sadhanas for spiritual aspirants. We can emphatically say that though such Mahatmas won't deliver any sermons, yet any person who is often in their company is generally spiritually elevated. Even people with bad inclinations and evil tendencies are generally subdued for the time being and good ideas sprout up in their minds. If Sadhaks were to be in their (Mahatmas) company they are highly spiritually benefitted.

For example: (1) Rajah Bimbisara, was about to kill several goats in a sacrifice, when he met Lord Buddha and was so influenced by his spiritual aura that he at once let off all the sacrificial cattle, threw down all the sacrificial vessels and became the foremost disciple of Buddha Bhagawan in propagating the gospel of Ahimsa. (2) Though Swami Vivekananda was a sort of agnostic in the beginning, when he came in contact with Sri Rama Krishna Paramahansa he was affected by the spiritual vibration of the august personage, and latter on attained the highest spiritual eminence and became the foremost disciple of

the Paramahansa in carrying the torch of Vedic Religion to the other side of the globe. (3) When Swami Rama Tirtha went to America, he was standing on the harbour though all the passengers had left the place. A stranger approached him and said jokingly, "Where is your luggage? Who is your friend here that has come to receive you?" The venerable Swami said calmly in his usual strain, "Don't you know that Rama carries only as much luggage as his body needs? You are my friend who has come here to receive me". So saying Swami Rama Tirtha patted on the back of the stranger. The stranger was miraculously changed by his spiritual aura and became his first American Disciple. (4) Take the case of the "World's greatest man" Mahatma Gandhiji. In spite of differences of opinions and antagonistic feelings, even his worst opponents when coming face to face with him always give way to his (Mahatmaji's) point of view and become his admirers.

Just as in the presence of Mahatmas and in the places where Mahatmas lived there is the force of the spiritual vibration connected with them, so also in the articles used by them and in the fruits, flowers, water, touched by them and also in the fruits, flowers, water, etc., that are in the Siddha-sthanas, there is the spiritual vibratory force connected with those Mahatmas. So, we believe and it is our personal experience too that there is the efficacy of the spiritual vibration of those Mahatmas "अहंरूपेण" in those articles.

Therefore may Sadhaks avoid as far as possible bad company and bad and undesirable-vibration-existing atmosphere; and may they have the good company of Mahatmas and reside in Siddha-sthanas and may thus elevate themselves being benefitted by the spiritual vibration existing there. So also, may people at large try to get themselves elevated so far as their circumstances permit.

Since good vibrations are set up in the atmosphere by Sad-Bhāvas, by Sadvakyas and Satkarmas and since bad vibrations are set up in the atmosphere by bad and undesirable Bhāvas, by bad and undesirable speeches, and by bad and undesirable Karmas, one should avoid bad sankalpas, bad speeches and bad karmas which are indecent, false, unpleasant, useless, defamatory, harsh, sensuous, full of Raga, Dwesha, Vaira, Damba, Darpa, Abhimāna, Kāma, Krōdha, Lōbha, Mada, Mātsarya, Shōka; Dukkha, Vishāda, etc.," and should lead a pious life full of sad-sankalpas, sad-bhavas, sad-bhāshas and sad-karmas which are of Ahimsa, Satya, Astōya, Shoucha, Santōsha, Mudita, Udārata, Shānti, Shama, Dama, Titiksha, Uparathi, Dakshata, Udāsīnata, Swādhyāya, Daya, Prēma, Madhura, Hitakara, Samyama, Tyāga,

Vairāgya, Atandrita, Nirabhimānata, Komalata, Saralata, Namrata, Sahishnuta, Dwesharāhitya, Gunogrāhakata, Samata, Paropakarata. Mitrata, Karuna, Yatachittata, Bhāgavataparāyanata, Sarvabhutahittata, devoid of Ahankāra, Mamakāra and Vyathā, Sraddhabhaktiyutata, Nirbhayata, Dhriti, Yajna, Tapa, Dana and Dharmata.

OM SANTI! SANTI!! SANTI!!!

"Pranava Guha", }
 GANGOTRI, }
 August 1934. }

BRAHMACHARI PRANAVANANDA.

**The Copper plate of Raghunatha Jagadeb II
of Kadamba dynasty—Tekkali,**

BY

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Rajah Saheb of Tekkali.

After the death of Padmanabha Jenna, the 7th ruler of Tekkali Kadamba dynasty in 1527 A.D. a battle was fought between his Jubaraj Birabhadra and the second son Chandrasekhar. Jubaraj Birabhadra died in the battle. From that day, Chandrasekhar became the ruler of Tekkali. At that time Birabhadra had an aged son named Banamali. In the conquered country of his father he constructed a fort named "Banamali fort" (now called Bommali) and assuming the title of "Badajenna" he began to rule there as a subordinate rajah under the Utkal Kings. Fearing that the elder brother's son Banamali Badajenna might attack his kingdom, Chendrasekhar Jenna left the fort of Tekkalipatana and constructed a fort named 'Chintamani fort' near the Dense forest boundary of Parlakimedi Estate. He installed Hanuman idol at the chief gate of the fort.

The 18th ruler of this dynasty Raghunath Jagadeb II ruled from 1740 A.D. to 1767 A.D. A donation granting some lands and allowing to collect shandy taxes and house taxes to give Sadabarta to Bairagees was granted to Raghunath Das who was residing in the said Hanuman Temple. This gifted plate was granted to him in 1762 A. D. It is only one plate. Its shape is like a chisel. It is 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches broad. Leaving $\frac{1}{4}$ part to the end on the front side of the plate and $\frac{1}{4}$ part on the other, the text of it had been inscribed in four lines in Telugu script. In the vacant space on the front side, the signature of the donor is to be found. The style and language of the plate do not seem to differ from the modern style and language. As the plate has been kept carefully, nowhere it is damaged. In the plate, contracted forms of the letters have been used, such as, రోజ్త instead of రోజన, గార్జి- instead of గారి, గడ్డ instead of గడప, గ్రహల్క- instead of గ్రహలకు, మాయ instead of మారాజు.

Reading of the Copper plate—

Front side

1. నందనామ సంయు అశ్విన శు గంబ రోజు శ్రీరఘునాథజగదేవు
2. మహారాజులుంగారు సదావర్తి హరిదాసు బావాజిగార్హి
3. వ్రాయించి దాసుచేసిన పట్టా మూర్తి కలకావూడి హస్తం
4. తులూవశేరీలో సదావర్తి పాలం సంతోతోలాగడ్పుపన్నుయా

Back side

1. చొప్పుయెడల చేసి యివ్వడమయినది గనుగ విరివిఫలపచుకు
2. ని అతితుల్యగతులకు సదావర్తి కిదాయస్తు శ్రీకాలా
3. లయందు మమ్మలను కల్యాణంచేస్తు సుఖంగా శ్రీరఘునాథ
4. జీవనంచేస్తువుండేది గ్రామాల్కు యెటికొట్టుం మాపు చేసినాము.

Idea of the script :—

During the year Nandana (1762 A.D.) on Aswina Sukla Dasami day (Dasahara) Sri Raghunath Jagadeb Maharaja granted Haridas Babaji, the giver of Sadabarti with the specified lands for Sadabarti in Karlapudi, Hanumanthalova and the authority to collect taxes from shandy and houses. Realising the crops from these lands, he had to give Sadabarti to strangers, visitors and to bless us in all times. He is to live happily praying Raghunath. The impressed labour system of these villages is cancelled.

**STUDIES
IN
THE HISTORY OF VIJAYANAGAR.**

Sections IV and V.

BY

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Section IV

SALUVA DYNASTY:

The question how the sovereignty over the kingdom of Vijayanagar was transmitted from the line of Harihara and Bukka to Narasimha Saluva who was only a feudatory chief of a small principality called Chandragiri, is a vexed one and is difficult to solve owing to paucity of material. In the absence of definite historical information modern writers on the History of Vijayanagar are tempted to connect the broken narrative by imagining the probable trend of events; but such a narrative unchecked by salutary documentary evidence is at best unprofitable.

It is a matter of regret that only a few inscriptions dealing with the achievements of Narasimha Saluva are available: but the literary works of the age contain sober and relevant information and supply the deficiency caused by the scarcity of documentary evidences. The three chief works that present a full narrative of the History of the Saluvas are "SALUVABHYUDAYAM", "RAMABHYUDAYAM" and "JAIMINI BHARATAMU", the first two works being in the Sanskrit language, while the last is a Telugu Prabandham, written by Pillalamarri Pinveerabhadra Kavi.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SALUVAS:

The early history of the Saluvas is interesting in that it enables us to know the close relationship that existed between the Sangama rulers and that Saluva line from which Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty sprang up. So I shall try to give in the following pages, the pedigree of the Saluvas and the brilliant achievements of the members, as can be collected from the literary works referred to above.

The descent of the Saluva family is traced from the Moon in the puranic fashion by the poets of the age and after a few mythological names the name of the chief Gunda is given. He had his residence at Kalyani as can be inferred from the following lines in "RAMA-BHYUDAYAM":

गुण्ड देवो नृपस्तेषु गुणपौरुष भूषणः

आसीत्कल्याणि नगर मावासस्त स्य भूपतेः

Once Gunda left the capital and proceeded to Ramadurgam which was ruled by a Sabara king and captured it. This victory raised him to prominence and Gunda seems to have lived during the early years of the 14th Century.

Gunda had six sons by his wife Kamaladevi-Gunda II, Madiraja, Gauta, Virahobala, Saluva Mangi, and Savitri Mangi. Of these Saluva Mangi was the greatest warrior and continued the vigorous policy of expansion, inaugurated by his father. The rising power of the Bahmani Kingdom foiled his attempt of expanding the patrimony towards the North and except the conquest of an important city in Guzrat, there is no record of any of his achievements round Kalyani. So he went southwards to make new conquests and sought the service of Kamparaya, the son of Bukka I of Vijayanagar. Thus commenced the relations between the Sangamas and the Saluvas which resulted ultimately in the replacement of the former by the latter.

As a generalissimo to the forces of Kamparaya, Saluva Mangi, took a prominent part in the southern campaigns which were organised by the King of Vijayanagar. He defeated the Sultan of Madura and restored the conquered kingdom to Sampuraya, thus earning the title (biruda) of "Sampuraya sthapanacharya". By his onward march the Chola, Kerala and Pandyan rulers fled in fear and he attacked and defeated the southern kings as a falcon ('saluva') seizes its prey. As a result of his glorious achievements, Mangi obtained the title of Saluva which was added as a cognomen by his successors to their names. The following lines in "SALUVABHYUDAYAM" describe the same:

कृती ततः कोसल राज चोल

पाण्ड्यादि भूपेषु भयाहतेषु

शौर्येण जित्वा युधि शम्भु रायम्

तमप्यसौ स्थापयति स्म राज्ये ।

तत् स्थापनाचार्य तथा तदादि

— — — — —

तदादि सर्वे पिच साल्वेन्द्र
संज्ञां भजन्तिस्म तदीयवंश्याः

Next Saluva Mangi proceeded to Srirangam, bathed in the holy waters of the River Cauvery, and re-established the God Ranganath in a holy temple erected for the purpose. On this occasion he made extensive grants and gave an extraordinary donation of sixty thousand 'madas' (a 'mada' is equivalent to Rs 2/-) to the God. The poet of "*Jaimini Bharatam*" summarizes his glorious achievements in the following verse:

సీ. దురములో దక్షిణసురతాప నెదిరించికొనివచ్చి సంపరాయనికి నిచ్చె
సామ్రాజ్యమన నిల్చి సంపరాయస్థాపనాచార్య తిరుద విఖ్యాతి గాంచె
శ్రీరంగవిభు ప్రతిష్ఠించి యాజ్ఞుని వేలమాడ లక్షప్రముగ్ధికి నొసంగె
మధురాసురత్రాణ మడియించి పరపక్షి సాగున విరుదంబు జగతి నెఱపె
.....
.....
సాహసంబున నుప్పొంగు సాశ్వమంగు.

A close consideration of the above brilliant exploits leads us to the inevitable conclusion that Saluva Mangi must have been the most distinguished member of the dynasty, before the accession of Saluva Narasimha. Since we have evidence that he acted as a generalissimo to Kamparaya of Vijayanagar, it may be taken that he belonged to the later part of the 14th Century. It is to be assumed that about this time, the ancestral possessions of the Saluvas slipped away by the rapidly-advancing tide of the Bahmani Sultans and the Saluva chiefs, dispossessed of their ancestral possessions, sought the services of the Rayas of Vijayanagar and remained under them as provincial viceroys. Saluva Mangi was thus the first connecting link between the imperial rulers and the collateral line of the Saluvas. From this time, it appears, the Saluvas had their headquarters at Chandragiri and governed the southern provinces of the Vijayanagar Empire.

The poet of "*Jaimini Bharatam*" described that Saluva Mangi had in turn six sons—Lingaraja Gunda III, Gauta II, Savadiraja, Hanumaraya and Mallinatha. In "*Saluvabhyudayam*" mention is made of only one son to Saluva Mangu, named Gauta II. Perhaps the poet makes no allusion to the other brothers since none of them made himself so illustrious as Gauta II.

To Gauta II were born four sons, Gunda IV, Salu Raja, Boppa Raja and Saluva Tipparaja. The eldest of the sons, Gunda IV was a great warrior, a lion in prowess as can be inferred from the following lines:

ఉ. వీరలలోన వగజాడు విక్రమశీల గుండధారుణీ

ధారుణుడాయఁ దారని ప్రతాపము దిక్కుల విక్ర-టిల్లు
దుర్వారవిరోధి వీరనగరంబులకున్ హరుకంటిమంటలై
శరణ్యపాలనై న్యవనవాటికి చావకృతానుపంటలై.

The youngest of the sons, Tipparaja seems to be a striking figure, unparalleled in valour, courage and heroism. He was so strong and powerful in his time that Devaraya II, king of Vijayanagar chose to give his sister Harima in marriage to him. It can be averred that the already existing relationship between the imperial line and the feudatory chiefs was cemented by this matrimonial alliance. Gopa, the son of Tippa acted as Governor to Tekkal a province in the empire of Vijayanagar. The following verses in "*Jaimini Bharatam*" attribute to him a series of heroic exploits by which the victor won such titles as 'Meesaraganda Kathari', Saluvapanchaghantanimada etc.

క. ల హొప్పొధిపు సోదరుండు నుతజన శ్రీమధాసాధహీ

లకాహాపరితృణాంబునిధిచేలామేఖలాచక్రందై
ప్రాబల్యంబున సాశ్వతిపు ధరణీపాలుండు పాలించె చా
కా బ్రహ్మి వహించి నిత్యవినుతశ్శూనాధయూధంబులన్.

నీ. అమితశైభవము చే నసమానశైభవశతీకాయుధుల నద్రినహల కనిచె,

దోఁప్రతాపంబు చే గురితప్రతాపదావానిలాపుల నరణ్యముల ద్రోచె
వినుతధైర్యంబుచే విఖ్యాతధైర్యమంధానాద్రులను సముద్రముల ముంచె
ఘనకీర్తిచే సముత్కటకీర్తిచంద్రుల గడకొండ యవని చీకట్లు గలిపె

తే. గీ. నారమీనరగండ కధారిసాశ్వ

పంచఘంటానినాదాది భయదవిరుద

కాహళారాన సంపాతకంపితాః

దీప్తబలనీరిసాగున తిప్పకారి.

The founder of the second dynasty in the History of Vijayanagar Saluva Narasimha was the son of Gunda IV through his wife, Mallambika. An interesting account of the birth of Narasimha, who was said to be the product of the parents' fervent prayers and devotion to God Narasimha at Aholam, is given in the following lines, taken from "*Fenolhucyem*", a work written in Sanskrit.

गुण्डय भूपतिः

मल्लाम्बिका महाभागा तस्यासीत्सहचारिणी । ततः कदाचिदेकान्ते सुगुण्डयमहीपतिः
चिन्तामनं तामतनोत् सन्तानासि विलंबनात् अनर्पिताभि सवनमलक्षित पथं नमः

अनु द्रुतेन्दु मंभोधि मपुत्रं मांप्रचक्षते । अन्याहणाद्विमु षेयं यदि राज्यसु
खायमे । सुखोदकं मिदं कर्तुं सुप्रसन्नो हरिःप्रभुः । इतिचिन्ता परोध्यात्वा नृहरिकुलदेवं ।
स तथा ससहचारिण्या तपःकुरुतदुश्चरम् । तपसा तेन सन्तुष्टस्तस्य स्वप्नेपुरोऽभत् । अहोबल
नृसिंहस्तमब्रवीदद्भुतंवचः । तवास्तु तनयो वत्स सर्वोर्वी चक्रनायकः । इत्युदीर्यवचो भक्त्या
हर्षि तस्यास्यभूपतेः । अहोबलनृसिंहोऽयं मधितांतर्द यानिधिः । अथ स्वप्नावसाने ऽसावानंदं
मृततुंदिलः । हरिप्रसादमाचष्ट देव्यादर्शित कौतुकः । तथा गुण्डय भूभर्तु स्तनयोऽभूत्ततः
फलात् । नानागुण गणस्तस्यां नरसिंह इतिश्रुतः ॥

The 'kavya' further describes that Gunda brought up his son with tender care and affection, got him educated in Sanskrit and other languages by first-rate scholars, and having installed him in his position retired into the forest to spend the evening of his life in contemplation of the Divine. Narasimha succeeded his father as Governor of Chandragiri. From the time of his accession to power, Narasimha exhibited his prowess and valour in accomplishing the formidable task of consolidating his dominions, and putting down his enemies.

The achievements of Narasimha were enthusiastically celebrated by the Sanskrit poets. His first expedition was against Kapi-leswar the Gajapati ruler of Orissa, who in conjunction with the Bahmani Sultan, proved to be a menace to the peace of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Narasimha defeated the ruler of Orissa, forced him to accept the terms of peace which he dictated, and then returned to his capital.

SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS:

After the humiliation of the Gajapati ruler, Narasimha turned his attention to the conquest of the South. Leaving Chandragiri, he proceeded to Chidambaram, where he worshipped God Pundarikaksha. Next he passed into the Chola country, whose ruler offered immediate submission without risking a fight with the conqueror. He marched to Kumbakona, worshipped the God and bent his course to Srirangam.

Here he bathed in the holy waters of the Cauvery, worshipped the God, who was re-instated in the temple by his illustrious ancestor Saluva Mangu. He made a number of grants and benefactions to the God and to the Brahmins. Narasimha then marched into the Pandyan kingdom, brought him under submission, and also exacted a heavy tribute from him. Narasimha proceeded to Rameswaram, and while he was busily engaged here in subduing the country extreme south to it, the Ceylonese king who was a Jain by religion, sent a respectful embassy, offering his submission to the Saluva conqueror.

Narasimha marched with his forces through the north-west coast and wended his course into Anantasayanam (Trivandrum) which was inhabited by some forest tribes. Having defeated all the Sabara chiefs, he entered Nagamandala. A number of hill-forts, Bonagiri, Gingi, and Kongudharapuri were captured and the ruling chiefs were reduced to submission.

It is clear that his invasions were but passing raids and not permanent conquests. The invader was content to receive homage from the vanquished chiefs and to bring back a vast golden treasure to his capital Chandragiri. As a result of his brilliant exploits, his ancestral possessions were vastly improved in size and dignity to such a pitch that they had never attained under his predecessors. His glorious conquest won for him such titles as Meesaragandakathari, Dharavaraha, Chauhattamalla etc.

The above account of Narasimha's glorious achievements is taken from a Sanskrit work "*Saluvabhyudayam*" written by Rajanatha Dindima. As the poet enjoyed the lavish patronage of his lord, Narasimha, the work is marred by high-flown eulogies and epic embellishments; but sober historical facts can be distinguished from the exaggerated passages in the work.

EARLY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SANGAMAS AND THE SALUVAS :

The foregoing account brings forth the relationship that existed between the Sangamas and the Saluvas. At the outset it appears that the early Saluvas were chieftains and rulers enjoying a principality of modest dimensions. The rising tide of the Bahmani power checked their efforts to expand and to consolidate their territory. At last Saluva Mangu, a young adventurous hero sought service under Kamparaya, the ruler of Vijayanagar and performed a series of heroic deeds by which he gained much distinction and fame. He was appointed Governor of Chandragiri, a province in the Vijayanagar

Empire During the time of Deva Raya II, the Saluvas were so strong and powerful that a grandson of Saluva Mangu, Saluva Tippa married Harima, the sister of Deva Raya II. As the Sangama rulers became weaker and weaker, the Saluvas grew stronger and stronger, till at last Narasimha Saluva, the most distinguished member of the dynasty, rose from the rank of a general to supreme power, deposed the last imbecile representative of the line of Harihara and Bukka, and himself ascended the throne.

Neither the literary sources nor the epigraphical records throw any considerable light on this period of transition in the History of Vijayanagar. The exact circumstances that led to the usurpation of Narasimha Saluva cannot be stated with any amount of definiteness or precision. Modern writers of the History of Vijayanagar state that the Empire was in a disintegrated condition, torn by disputes and conflicts of succession among the royal princes and that violent shocks and convulsions took place by which the Empire underwent utter decomposition. To check the disruptive tendencies within and the disintegrating shocks from the enemy without, the Empire wanted a man of exceptional ability at the helm of government to steer the ship of state. Under such circumstances Narasimha ascended the throne and founded a new dynasty.

Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar writes in his *Little known Chapter of the History of Vijayanagar*, that Narasimha's purpose in usurping the throne was not personal aggrandizement, but the perpetuation of the Empire and that Saluva Narasimha 'took upon himself the responsibility not from unworthy motives of personal greed or mere dynastic ambition.' The learned Doctor seems to have drawn his conclusion more from the realms of imagination than from salutary documentary or literary evidences. There is no proof that Narasimha Saluva was led by such generous and noble motives in assuming the power. If it is supposed that the Saluva ruler took upon himself the responsibilities for the noble purpose of preserving the Empire from dismemberment, then one is naturally led to believe that he should have kept the legal heir on the throne of Vijayanagar and carried on the administration as a regent just as his faithful general, Narasa Naik, had carried the administration, placing his lord's son Immadi Narasimha on the throne till the day of his death in 1505 A.D. The manner of his usurpation and the forcible acquisition of the throne, as can be deduced from the following inscription, raise suspicions in the mind of an impartial reader that Narasimha Saluva was actuated by motives of personal greed and dynastic ambition.

गुणाम्बु धेर्गुण्डविभोस्ततोऽभून्मल्लां बिकायां महनीय कीर्तिः
 नृसिंहरायोऽयमहोबल श्री नृसिंहदेवस्य वरप्रसादात् ।
 मीसर गण्ड कठारी सालुव धरणी वराह बिरुदाङ्कः ।
 यः खड्गैक सहायस्सर्वान्निर्जित्य सार्वभौमोऽभूत् ।
 असीद्धरावराहोयः स्वलब्धैरुद्धरन् धराम् ।
 सालुवःशत्रुसंघातं पक्षिघातं निहत्य च ।

(Epigraphica Indica Vol. 7, P. 74.)

Whatever might be the events that led to the ascendancy of Saluva Narasimha to the throne of Vijayanagar, it is certain that the administration of Vijayanagar Empire was transmitted either in 1485 or in 1486 A. D. to the Saluva ruler. He ruled as emperor for a period of about seven years. Nuniz's term of 44 years for his reign seems to include in it the whole term of his career, first as ruler of Chandragiri and then as the emperor of Chandragiri. The Saluva emperor died either at the end of 1492 A. D. or at the beginning of the next year, leaving his young son, Immadi Narasimha to the care of his faithful general, Narasa Naik, a Tuluva chieftain, who acted as 'protege' to his master's son.

IMMADI NARASIMHA, 1493-1505 A. D. The Devulapalli Grant, issued in the Saka year 1427 (1505 A. D.) shows that Immadi Narasimha was the son and successor of Saluva Narasimha and that he was the reigning monarch till that year.

गुणाम्बुधेर्गुण्डविभोस्ततोऽभूत् मल्लाम्बिकायां महनीयकीर्तिः
 नृसिंहरायोऽयमहोबल श्री नृसिंहदेवस्य वरप्रसादात्

नृसिंहरायस्य तनयो विनयोज्ज्वलः इम्मडि श्रीनृसिंहेन्द्रः
 शाकाब्दे परिसंख्याते गिरिनेत्रयुगेन्दुभिः (S. S. 1427 = 1505 A. D.)
 ग्रामदेवुल पल्यास्य सहिराय पयो धारापूर्वकं दत्तवानध्रुवम् ।

(Epigraphica Indica, Vol. 7, P. 74.)

The Epigraphist Report of 1909 mentions that Immadi Narasimha was also known as Dharma Raya; for he styled in this name with his usual titles in a Tirupattur Inscription of the Madura District dated S. S. 1421 (1499 A. D.)

With the death of Immadi Narasimha the Saluva line became extinct.

Section V

THE TULUVA DYNASTY:

Sources: After the death of Immadi Narasimha, the Empire of Vijayanagar was transmitted to a new line of rulers who belonged to the Tuluva Dynasty. Very little is known of the early history and the pedigree of the Tuluvas. *Varahapuranam*, *Manucharitra*, and *Parijatapaharanam* are the three chief literary works of the age which contain an account of the lineage of the Tuluvas. At present, however, we may safely say something about a few of them, because we possess their names and a little of their history from the pen of Krishnadeva Raya, the most illustrious representative of the Tuluva Dynasty. In addition to these literary works, considerable light is thrown by the inscriptions issued by the members of the Dynasty. An account of the relations between the Hindu Emperors and the Mohammedan Sultans can, however, be obtained from Ferishta's Chronicle.

Relations between the Saluvas and the Tuluvas: Before I attempt to give a connected narrative of the Tuluva ancestry, one false theory about the relationship of the Tuluvas with the Saluvas may be criticised. Some writers of the History of Vijayanagar endeavoured to prove that the Tuluvas and the Saluvas were members of one and the same dynasty, and that Timma, the grandfather of Tuluva Narasa was the same as the brother of Saluva Narasimha. No doubt, Saluva Narasimha had a brother with the name of Timma; but it is beyond one's comprehension to assume that both these were one and the same on the simple ground that both bore the name of Timma. If really there existed some relationship between Saluva Narasinga and Tuluva Timma, it would have been mentioned by the authors of *Varahapurana* and *Manucharitra*. In fact, we have there an unequivocal assertion that Iswara and Narasimha were the commanders-in-chief of Saluva Narasinga and no more. If Krishna Deva Raya was the lineal descendant of Saluva Timma and was connected with his predecessors who occupied the throne of Vijayanagar, he would gladly have traced his descent from them without entering into mythology, after mentioning only three of his ancestors. Moreover, the court-poets of Krishna Deva Raya also described the usual genealogy of the Puranic character, tracing the descent from the moon to Yayati. These facts, based on authentic literary evidence, demonstrate the untenability of the theory of the Saluva-Tuluva relationship, which is put forward by some learned scholars. Until more light is thrown by very powerful evidence upon this point, there can be but one version. The Tuluvas belonged to a class of bold adventurers who by their prowess, pushed themselves forward and helped their posterity in ascending to the highest summits of power and influence.

The Tuluva pedigree: The literary works describe that the Tuluvas belonged to the lunar race and trace their descent from the Moon to Yayati. The sons of Yayati were called Yadu Turvasas of whom the descendants of Turvasa were known as Tuluvas.

త. గీ. వానివంశంబు ఈశువాన్యవాయసుయ్యై
నందుఁ బెక్క-ండు స్వపు బదయంబునొంది
నిఖిలభువనాభివృద్ధినిర్మద్రక్షి
నధికులైరి తదీయాన్యవాయసునఁ బుట్టి.

Manucharitra, Verse 22 Canto.

The first historical figure of the Tuluva family as can be judged from the available evidences, is Timma. He seems to be a chief of exceptional abilities and a man of great valour and prowess. To his credit were added the conquests of Maharashtra, Lata, Gandhara and other countries. His wife was Devaki to whom were born two sons—Isvara and Timma.

Isvara was a strong warrior and acted as a generalissimo to the forces of Saluva Narasimha, probably when the latter was in the position of a feudatory chief of Chandragiri. Isvara won the favour of Saluva Narasimha and the achievements ascribed to him in *Varahapurāṇam*, were deeds of valour which he did to gratify his master. To Isvara was given the credit of the conquest of the following places which are situated in the east coast districts of Krishna and Nellore:

1. Udayagiri (in Nellore District)
2. Huttari
3. Gandikota
4. Penukonda
5. Bangalore
6. Kovela Nellore
7. Kundani
8. Goduguchinta
9. Bagur
10. Narugonda
11. Amur
12. Seringapatam

In addition to the above deeds of valour, Isvara invaded Bedandakota (Bidur) and defeated the Mohammedan cavalry at a place called Kandukuri, where he won a signal victory.

Isvara had two wives, Gauramba and Bukkamba and Narasimha was born to Bukkamba. He was the favourite son of his father and was so trained in the art of generalship and command of armies

that he was readily called to occupy the position of commander-in-chief of the imperial armies of Saluva Narasinga immediately after his father's death. He rose into power very soon and began to wield the state affairs of the empire, almost superseding the nominal monarch. He preserved the empire from disruption by putting down internal rebellions on one hand and by repelling the Mohammedan invasions on the other. The following lines describe Tuluva Narasimha's brilliant achievements:—

चेरं चोलंच पाण्ड्यं तमपिच मथुरावल्लभं मानभूषं
वीर्योदग्रं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदन्यान्
ख्यातः क्षोणीपतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं योज्यतानीत्

Till the day of his death, Tuluva Narasimha seems never to have become crowned king of Vijayanagar. No doubt he was the *de facto* ruler; but Immadi Narasimha, son of Saluva Narasimha was allowed to continue as *de jure* monarch till 1505 A. D., when he appears to have died.

Tuluva Narasimha had two wives-Tippamba and Nagambika by whom he had Vira Narasimha and Krishna Deva Raya respectively. The Saluva king seems to have died during the time of Vira Narasimha, who styled himself as crowned monarch of the Vijayanagar Empire.

After the death of Vira Narasimha, his brother Krishna Deva Raya succeeded him as the king of Vijayanagar. He was the most powerful monarch and expanded the boundaries of the empire on the northern side by regaining the lost provinces from the Mohammedan. He obtained signal victories not only over the Mohammedan Sultans but also over the Gajapati ruler. His empire extended from the river Krishna on the north to Cape Comorin in the south. It stands to the credit of this illustrious monarch that he built a great empire in the south of India and stemmed the tide of Mohammedan aggression, which was rapidly advancing from the north to the south. He was a versatile genius and was a patron of learning. Himself a remarkable scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu Languages, he had a galaxy of celebrated poets in his court—Allasani Peddana (the Grandsire of Telugu Poetry), Timmana, Ramabhadra etc. In short, the literary firmament of Krishna Deva Raya's day shone with many brilliant stars of whom he was himself a conspicuous one.

It is not the object of the 'Studies' to dwell at length on the events of his reign, which can be found in a connected narrative almost in every text-book of the History of India.

Krishna Deva Raya had no sons. After his death, his brother Atchyuta Deva Raya succeeded him as king of Vijayanagar. It appears from the following inscription that Narasa Nayak had three wives, Tippa Devi, Nagala Devi and Obambika Devi—Veera Narasimha and Krishna Deva Raya were born to Tippa Devi and Nagala Devi respectively, while to the third were born Ranga Raya and Atchyuta Deva Raya.

तिष्पाजी नागलादेव्योः कौमल्या श्रीमृमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहेन्द्रा
त्तस्मात्पङ्क्तिरथादिव । वीरौ विनयिनौ रामलङ्मणाविव नन्दनौ । ज्ञातौ वीरनृसिंहेन्द्र कृष्ण
राय महीपती । रङ्गक्षितीन्द्राच्यु तदेवरायौ रक्षाधुरीणा विवरामकृष्णौ, श्रोवाम्बिकायां नरस
क्षितीन्द्रा वुभावभूतां नरकेन्द्र शौर्यौ॥

(Epigraphica Indica Vol. 9, P. 332)

It appears that Ranga Raya, brother of Atchyuta Raya died leaving a young son behind him. He was Sadasiva Raya, whose cause was supported by Rama Raja, the son-in-law of Krishna Deva Raya, at the time of the accession of Atchyuta; but Rama Raja's attempts to place the young boy on the throne of Vijayanagar, keeping the entire power in his hands were futile on account of the strong influence exercised by Atchyuta and other great and wealthy nobles of whom Salaka Timmayya was the foremost.

Writers of the History of Vijayanagar including Sewell, are of opinion that after the death of Atchyuta, Sadasiva was installed on the throne of Vijayanagar; but the following lines taken from a Sasana issued by Sadasiva, gives an unchallengable evidence that Atchyuta was succeeded by his son, Venkata Raya, who ruled the Empire for a short time and was snatched away prematurely by death.

क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापित कीर्तिदेहे प्राप्तेपदं वैष्णव मच्युतेन्द्रे ।
अध्यस्य भद्रासन मस्यसूनुः वीरो बभो वेङ्कट देवरायः ।
प्रशस्य राज्यं प्रसवास्त्र रूपे विद्वन्निधौ वेङ्कटरायभूषे ।
अभागधेया दचिगत्प्रजानां आग्रहडलावास मथाधिरूढे ॥

(Epigraphica Indica, Vol. 4, P. 1.)

It is interesting to note that almost all the writers of the History of Vijayanagar missed to note the short reign of Venkata Raya, which took place between the reigns of Atchyuta Dev Raya and

Sadasiva. After the death of Venkata Raya a contest took place for succession. Salaka Timmayya, the uncle of the deceased king, grew sufficiently powerful to oppose Rama Raja who endeavoured to set up young Sadasiva on the throne of Vijayanagar. Salaka Timmayya, no doubt, presented a stout opposition to Rama Raja and made strenuous attempts to become the Emperor of Vijayanagar ; but his attempts were frustrated by the superior ability and sagacity of Rama Raja who fled to Penukonda, won the support of some powerful nobles, invaded Vijayanagar, seized and killed the usurper Salaka Timmayya. Sadasiva was then restored to the throne of Vijayanagar. The establishment of a young boy on the throne of Vijayanagar in the very teeth of opposition was no mean achievement on the part of Rama Raja, who may be said without any exaggeration to have revived the glories of the empire as they were in the days of Krisana Deva Raya. Had Rama Raja not shown his strong arm and set aside the stout opposition of Salaka Timmayya, the Empire would have been torn to disintegration, and the Empire would have been transmitted from the hands of the Tuluvas to another dynasty. In placing the imbecile prince Sadasiva on the throne of Vijayanagar, Rama Raja may be said to have laid the foundations of a new dynasty, which was destined to restore the fallen fortunes of the Empire.

तिम्माम्बा वरगर्भ.मोक्तिकमणी रत्नचितीन्द्रात्मजः

क्षत्रालंकरणेन पातित महाकर्णाटराज्यश्रिया

शौर्यैर्दार्य दयावता स्वभगिनी भर्ता जगतायिना

रामदामपतिना प्यमात्यतिलकैः क्लृप्ताभिषेक क्रमः

श्री विद्या नगरी ललामनि महासाम्राज्य सिंहासने

— — — — —

सर्वो पालयते सदाशिव महारायश्चिराय क्षमाम् ॥

(Epigraphica Indica Vol. 3. P. 334)

The word स्वभगिनी भर्ता clearly indicates that the saviour of Sadasiva was the son-in-law of Krishna Deva Raya. Nominally Sadasiva was the reigning Emperor of Vijayanagar and for all purposes Rama Raja was the *de facto* ruler and conducted the entire administration with much vigour and efficiency. The following lines describe the nature of his strong rule:—

यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीम् जगदेक वीरे
 मङ्गोनदीषु पतगेषु च पद्मपातः
 वल्लीषु पल्लव रुचिर्वनितारतेषु
 नीवी विमोचनम् भून्नियतं प्रजानाम् ॥
 सत्यानुरक्तेऽरिदरावहेऽस्मिन्
 सम्पन्नके संभृत सर्व लोके
 श्रीराम राजे— — — (Epigraphica Indica Vol. 9. 338 Page.)

Rama Raja was a distinguished member of the Araviti dynasty. He had a number of powerful brothers who shaped the fortunes of the Vijayanagar Empire in a manner calculated to produce striking results. The ancestors of Rama Raja, their achievements, and the fall of Vijayanagar will be dealt with in the last section of the studies.

(to be continued)

THAKURDIYA COPPER CHARTER
OF
MAHA PRAVARARAJA OF SARABHAPUR FAMILY.
BY
L. P. Pāndeya Sarmā.

On 10-2-32 I was informed about this charter by Mr Rama Datt Upadhyaya—a member of our Society before whom it was produced for decipherment by the head-man of Thakurdiyā—a village in the Sarangarh State about 14 miles from my place Bālpur. I lost no time to address the Sarangarh State authorities, who had no knowledge of this find, to take steps to acquire the document and to kindly forward it to the Mahā Kōsala Historical Society for being deciphered. On 5-3-32 the charter consisting of three copper plates, strung on a ring of the same metal, having the circular Gujūtkshant seal came to my hands. The plates, ring and seal are in all respects similar to those of the Arang Charter of Mahā Sudevaraja discovered by us in 1929 at Arang, Dist Raipur C.P.

The characters are the *box-headed* variety of Central India alphabet, identical with those of Vākātika Charters belonging to Prabhavati Gupta and her son Pravara-rāja II. The age of our present document and of other charters referred to in this note, is about 500 A.D.

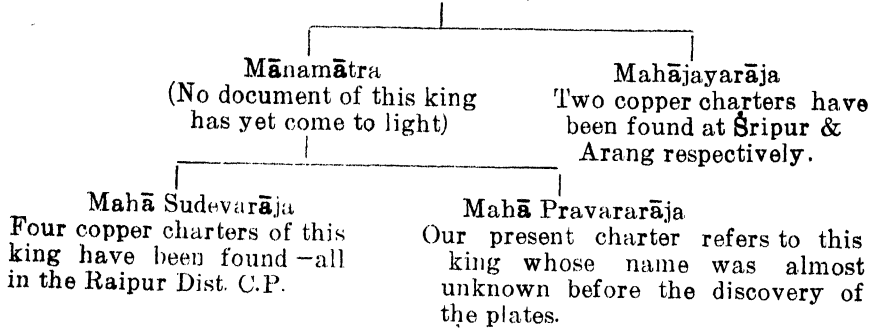
Although a silver coin of Śrī Prasannamātra* grand-father of Mahā Sudevaraja of Śarabhpur Family, was recovered by us a few years ago from the bed of the Mandh river, a tributary of the Mahā-nadi, there was no evidence to ascertain what relations existed between Mahā Sudevaraja, Mahājayarāja and Mānamātra. Our two discoveries of partly damaged Śripur Plates and the Thakurdiyā copper charter, have enabled us to frame an authoritative genealogy of Śarabhpur kings, which in the light of these inscriptions stands as follows.—

* Refer to my paper 'A silver coin of King Prasannamatra'. Journal of the Andhra H. R. Society, Vol. IV, Parts 3 & 4, Page 195.

ŚRI PRASANNAMĀTRA

one silver coin bearing the name श्रीप्रसन्न मात्र

in box-headed characters is in our Society's possession.
(see plate No. 6)



The Thakurdiya plates and seal supply us with two new names:—(I) Mahā Pravaraarāja—the donor and (II) his father—*Mānamātra*. To quote the legend on the seal:—

मानमात्र सुतस्येदं स्वभुजोपार्जिताक्षितेः
श्रीमत्प्रवर राजस्य शासनं शतृ-नाशनम् ।

(Plate No. 4)

The legend on the Gajalakshmi seal found with the partly damaged Śripur plates of Mahasudevarāja, reads:—

प्रसन्न—तनयस्येदं विक्रमाक्रान्त विद्विषः
श्रीमतो जय राजस्य शासनं रिपुशासनम् ॥

(Plate No. 5)

The above Sloka proves it beyond doubt that Jayaraja (Mahā-Jayaraja)'s father was प्रसन्नमात्र who is stated to be the grand father of Mahā Sudevarāja, as the legend of the seal of the Khariyar charter has.

प्रसन्नाण्यैव सम्भूत मानमात्रेन्दु जन्मनः ॥
श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य स्थिरं जगति शासनम् ॥

From the above it is evident that प्रसन्नमात्र had two sons:—

- (१) मानमाल (२) जयराज । and मानमाल like his father had two sons
(१) महासुदेव (२) महाप्रवर राज ॥

The Thakurdiya charter records its issue from Sripur and confirms the supposition that the Sarabhapur Family had connection with the Mahā Kosala Kingdom, although the exact location and identification of their capital, *Sarabhapur* still remains uncertain

Dr. Sten Konow tried to identify it with Sarabhavaram in the Godavari Dist Rai Bahadur Dr Hirralal considered it to be a new name imposed on Sripur by the victor in honor of his victory I myself press the claim of 'Saragarh' in the Gangapur feudatory state. The late Dr. Rajendralal Mitter was in favour of identifying शरभपुर with the present Sambalpur town (in Orissa) on the Mahanadi.

It is to be noted that not a single *stone-inscription* of Sarabhapur kings has yet come to light

Before concluding I reproduce the 1st four lines from the 1st plate (2nd side)

Line 1. ॐ स्वामी श्री पुराद्रिकमोपनत सामन्तमकुट'चूडामणि प्रभाप्र

Line 2. मेकाम्बुधौत पाद युगलो रिपुविलासिनीमीमनोद्धरण हेतु

Line 3. र्वसुवमुधा गो दः परम भागवतो माता पितृ पादानुध्यातः

Line 4. श्रीमहाप्रवर राजः तुडाराष्ट्रिय षाढके प्रति वामिनःसमाज्ञापयति + +

(Refer to Plates I & II)

In form and style this charter is similar to other charters of this family except the proper names of donor, donee, village and district. The village granted was षाढक in तुडाराष्ट्र. This माढक may be साढर, 10 miles from Sarangarh town and तुडा may be the तुरा or तोरा village in the same state

The donee was one भ क पुरन्दरस्वामी वाजसनेय of पराशर gotra.

It is to be noted that the grantees mentioned in the records of the Sarabhapur kings are all स्वामी as the chart attached to this paper will clearly show along with other details.

The charters of the Sarabhapur Family supply no clue to determine to what race the kings belonged and over what part of India, they held sway. Like Mahā Siva Tivaraarāja (Somavamsi), they don't describe themselves as "कोसलाधिपतिः" or like Mahābhavagupta—as परमभट्टारक महागजाधिगज सोमकुलतिलकः त्रिलिङ्गाधिपतिः. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether they ruled over महाकोसल or त्रिलिङ्ग or चेदि and whether they were सोमवंशी's or सूर्यवंशी's. We are equally in the dark about their ancestral home.

The Thakurdiya plates were made available to the Mahā Kosala Historical Society through the courtesy of Raja Bahadur Jawahir Singh, Ruling Chief Sarangarh Feudatory State to whom our gratitude is due.

(RE)

VOLUME IX, PART 3
(JANUARY 1935)



1935

Rajahmundry

Printed by A. Lakshmanaswamy Naidu at the Saraswathi Power Press- 9239-35.

Published by the Andhra Historical Research Society.

Annual Subscription for Members:—Indian 3 Rs. Foreign 6 Sh.
 6 P. 12 Sh.

Individuals:—	6 Rs.	12 Sh.
Institutions:—		

Price Each Part Rs. 2 only. Postage extra.

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JOURNAL
OF
The Andhra Historical Research Society

Vol. IX }

January, 1935

{ Part 3

GONARDA, THE CRADLE OF THE GONARDIYA*

BY

Prof. Sylvain Lèvi, D. Litt.

Translated by

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The Pārāyaṇa, incorporated in the Pali Sutta-nipāta, is one of the most ancient monuments of Buddhism. The parallel writings, attested by frequent mentions have disappeared. But the Pali text, guaranteed as it is by two commentaries, the Mahā-niddesa and the Culla-niddesa, which, too, are very ancient, has an incontestable value. In the account, which makes use of the introduction to the collection, the Brahmin Bāvari, emigrated from the "charming city of Kosalas" (Śrāvastī), comes to settle himself "in the country of Assaka, in the vicinity of Muḷaka, on the banks of the Godhāvāri"; he sends his disciples in mission to the Buddha at his place of birth, at Sāvattī of the Kosalas. The poet sums up in three verses (1011-1013) the steps of their route: "Paṭiṭṭhāna of Muḷaka; then the city of Māhissatī; also Ujjeni and Gonaddha; Vedisā; Vanasavhayā; Kosambī; and also Sāketa; and the big city of Sāvattī, Setavya, Kapilavatthu; and the city of Kusinārā; and Pāvā; Bhoganagara; the Magadhan city of Vesali and the Pāsāṇaka Cetiya."

The itinerary deserves the honour of an integral study. Here however, I shall only occupy myself with the intermediate step between

* The original article in French, *Gonarda, le berceau du Gonardiya*, by Dr. Sylvain Lèvi, D. Litt (Cal.) Professor of the College de France and the University of Strasbourg, was published in the Ashutosh Commemoration Volume III, Part I (Orcintalia)—Translator.

Ujjeni and Vedisā, two perfectly definite Localities: the one is still now Ujjain (Ogein), to the north of Indore, Lat 23° 11' 10" N., and Long. 75° 51' 45" E., the other is Besnagar, very near Bhilsa, Lat. 23° 31' 35" N., and Long. 77° 55' 39" E. The Pārāyana places the city of Gonaddha between these two points.

The catalogue of Yaksa in the Mahāmāyūrī¹ follows an exactly identical order: "at Avanti the Yaksa is Priyadarśana; at Gonardana, Śikhandin; at Vaidiśa, Añjalipriya" Avanti is another name of Ujjayinī; Vaidiśa is the Sanskrit form of Pali Vedisa. The name of the intermediate locality is fluctuating in the tradition of the manuscripts; I have reproduced the reading of the Mss O and H in the text; but D reads Gonardane Of the three Chinese versions, S transcribes Kiu-Kia-t'o-na, which supposes an original, Gogardana; Y translates You-hi "Bull-joy", which restores Gonandana; A translates you-ts'oei "Bull-compress", that is, Gomardana The Tibetan translator has followed the same text (ba-lari'joms "Bull-compress") The evidence of the Sutta-nipāta comes to confirm the reading Gonardana, because it is evident that, on both sides, the question is of the same locality. The Pali Gonaddha may be restored, without difficulty, to Sanskrit Gonarda. The aspiration, introduced subsidiarily in the Pali form, is a phenomenon, which is nothing exceptional; in that very introduction to the Pārāyana we have already also met with the Sanskrit name of the Godhāvarī, modified by aspiration of the dental in the interior of the word Godhāvarī; a list of analogous cases will be found, e.g., in the *Pali* by Geiger § 40 and § 62, and for Prakrits in general in the *Grammatik der Prakrit-Śprachen* by Pischel § 207-202. In proper names, the phenomenon seems due generally to an erroneous interpretation: e.g., *Khanda*, "the god Skanda", owes its aspiration to a confusion with *Skandha*, "the Shoulder"; *Erūpatta* = *Aurāvata*, "the divine elephant", has suffered the contamination of *patha* "way", (as, in Sanskrit also, it has later suffered the contamination of *pattra* "leaf" in becoming *Elāpattra*). One will have believed to recognise the word *godhā* "big lizard" in the first syllables of the name of the Godhāvarī. The Sanskrit *gonarda* (or *gonardana*, by developed suffixation) clearly signifies "the lowing of the cow". Passed to Prakrit under the form *gonaddan* (or *gonaddana*), the word becomes unintelligible. The root *nard* seems to have submitted in Prakrit to the root *nad* from which it hardly differentiates itself. Moreover, the word *go* quite naturally suggested the word *naddha* "attached, bound".

Whatever be the explication, the equivalence Gonarda = Gonaddha is certain. The name of Gonarda is indissolubly connected with the memory of Patañjali "the Gonardian" Gonardiya. A constant tradition

attested by Kaiyaṭa, by the author of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, and by Hemacandra, identifies the personage designated by the name of *Gonardīya* in the *Mahābhāṣya* with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Kielhorn, it is true, vigourously contested the value of that tradition² and maintained that the *Gonardīya* was the author of the *Kārika* in verse, utilised and cited by Patañjali. The authority of Kielhorn in questions concerning the *Mahābhāṣya* surely deserves the highest consideration; but his interpretation is not in requisite contradiction with the Indian tradition. Patañjali might refer in the *Mahābhāṣya* to an anterior work which he had composed, designating himself with an appellation of impersonal character, derived from his place of birth. The geographical situation of *Gonarda* always agrees marvellously with the rare indications, which may be deduced from the *Mahābhāṣya* for fixing the date of Patañjali. The two essential facts are: 1° the mention of Puṣyamitra, of his court (*sabhā*), and of his sacrifice (*iha Puṣyamitraṁ yajayāmaḥ*)—2° the mention of the Greek conquests in India (*arunad Yavanāḥ Sāketam, arunad Yavano Mādhyamikām*). Now, *Gonarda* is the nearest step to *Vidisā*. *Vidisā*, according to the evidence of the accounts followed by *Kālidāsa* in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was the capital where resided the son of Puṣyamitra in the capacity of viceroy. And *Vidisā* was also in close connections with Greek Politics; the column of *Besnagar*, on the site of the ancient *Vidisā*, preserves the memory of a Greek ambassador (*Yona-dūta*), *Heliodore*, sent by the Greek king, *Antialcidas*, to the Indian king *Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra*. Moreover, the geographical horizon of the *Mahābhāṣya* ordains itself harmoniously around the region *Gonarda-Vidisa* as centre. Excepting some general designations of territories, as *Vidarbha*, *Videha*, *Cola*, *Kerala*, etc., which do not implicate any direct and personal knowledge, the names of localities, cities or towns, form themselves in a sort of triangle, of which the base goes from *Pāṭaliputra* to the *Punjab*, and of which the apex reaches the lower *Narmadā* with *Māhiṣmatī*. *Māhiṣmatī* figures in the itinerary of the *Pārāyaṇa* as an intermediate step, which the disciples of *Bāvari* who started from *Pratiṣṭhāna*, reached on their way to *Ujjayinī*; likewise the *Mahābhāṣya* has,³ *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām Sūryam Udgamayati*.

A difficulty always seems to oppose the localisation of *Gonarda* that I propose. The name of *Gonarda* is cited as a name of place "in the land of the Orientals" in the *Candrovsth*⁴ and in the *Kāśika-vṛtti*, on *Pāṇini* I, 1. 75, just for explicating the formation of the derivative *Gonardīya*, without *Vṛddhi*. *Pāṇini* teaches that, by exception,

2. *Ind. Antiq.* XV, 81-83.

3. On *Pāṇini* III, 1. 26.

4. On *Candragomin* III, 2, 25, etc.

the diphthongues e and o should be considered as the degree of Vṛddhi (which is normally ai and au) in the names of places of the land of the Orientals (in prācām deśe; Candragomin reproduces this sūtra adapting it in his system III, 2, 25, enādyacaḥ prāgdeśāt.) We are evidently surprised, and even shocked, to see Gonarda which is in the midst of Mālava here placed in "the East" of India. We have not, however, the right to call the assertion of Candragomin and the Kāśikā in question. It is not the question of following a blind confidence in the geographical knowledge of these commentaries; but the reasoning, from the grammatical order, is unquestionable: Gonardīya is a derivative, formed by means of the suffix cha (=°tya); the suffix cha joins a stem having Vṛddhi; 'Gonardīya is treated as a stem of Vṛddhi, though it has O, and not au, in the first syllable. The thing then is that it enters into the exception anticipated by Pāṇini: 'So Gonarda, from which it is derived, is a name of a locality of the orientals.

But what should it mean by "the Orientals," Prāñcaḥ? The grammar, since Pāṇini, knows only two groupings as regards the Cardinal points: the Northerners (udañcaḥ) and the Easterners (Prāñcaḥ). A traditional verse quoted by the Kāśikā¹ and by Kṣīrasvāmin² establishes that division:

*Prāgudañcan, Vibhajate haṁsahksīrodake Yathā
Viduṣām Śabdasiddhyartham Śā naḥ pātu Śarāvati*

"She separates the East and the North, as the swan separates the milk and the water, for fixing well the usage of the classical language. May the Śarāvati protect us!"

And the Dictionary of Amara, in describing the earth, stands also on that double division, which he completes by the secondary association of the two other directions:

*Śarāvatyās tu yo' vadhah, deśaḥ pragdaksīṇaḥ prācya udicyaḥ
paścimottarah,"*³

"in starting from the Śarāvati, the country, which is to the South-east, is the East; that, which is to the North-west, is the North.

Thus, to Amara, the South is expressly connected with the East, the North with the west. The glossologist Vandyaghaṭṭya writes on the passage that "the Śarāvati is a river of India that runs from the

5. Vṛddhac chah P.IV 2, 114.

6. I, 75.

7. On Pāṇini I, 1, 75.

8. On Amara II 1, 6-7.

9. II, 1, 6-7.

North-East towards the Western ocean" (*etasmimīca Bhārata varṣe śarāvātīnām nadi īśānyā diśaḥ Śakāśāt Pāścimasamudragāminī vahati*). The indication seems plain and clear; unfortunately real geography does not confirm it. Vandyaghaṭīya, a veritable glossologist, has deduced from the text itself, the indication which he appears to have added here. He has borrowed it neither from the modern geography, nor from the ancient, nor from the consecrated nomenclatures of the rivers in the epics and the Purāṇas. The pretended Śārāvātī of Vandyaghaṭīya will be searched in vain. In fact, the tradition has perpetuated, this time also, an appellation that had no more any relation, for a long time, with reality. There had been a time, when the name of Śārāvātī, "(the river) with reeds," was applied to a course of water, which separated the whole of Aryan India into two parts. Pāṇini expressly teaches the formation of the name.¹⁰ The memory of a frontier traced by the river Śārāvātī is curiously in a celebrated episode of the Buddhist doctrine. When Koṭīkarṇa goes to consult the Buddha on the limit of the country of strict observance, the Lord fixes the Southern limit at Śārāvātī. "In the South there is a city named Śārāvātī, and beyond that is a river named Śārāvātī there is the boundary (*dakṣiṇena Śārāvātī nāmī nagarī tasyāḥ pareṇa Śārāvātīnāma nadi su'ntaḥ*.) such is at least the tradition of the Mūla-sarvāstivādin school in the original text gathered by the compilers of the Divyāvadāna (p. 21). The editors of the text, Cowell and Neil, cite two Variants of the name, furnished by some manuscripts of inferior value; Sarvāvātī (ms. A.) and Sarvāvātī (ms. B.). It is this last reading which has been followed by Yi-tsing, the author responsible, if not actual, of the Vinaya Mūlasarvāstivālin. He has rendered the name of the city and the river by che-pa (or) fo-lo-fa-ti which supposes an original Śavaravātī. "Yi-tsing reproduces the same form of the name in another treatise of the same Vinaya, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Ekaśata-karma, "where the same episode is repeated in abridgment. The reading Śavaravātī is undoubtedly due to a trial of correction to substitute for the unknown Śārāvātī a name which evoked the idea of the Śavaras whose savage tribes peopled the central plateau, on the southern border of the basin of the Ganges. The corresponding passage of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins is known to us only from the Chinese version due to Puṇyatara, which appears, owing to the fault of the translator or of the original, in a state of inextricable confusion. After having given the Mount Uśira (Yeu-chi-lo) as the

10. Saradīnamca VI, 3, 120.

11. Tok, XVII, 4, 108-a 9

12. Tok, XVII, 5, 57-b, 2.

northern limit, it adds: "beyond that mountain, and not far off, there is the tree So-lo by the source with rushes" ^{13*} The "source with rushes" seems to be the equivalent of Śārāvātī "(the water) which has some reeds," and the tree So-lo = Sārā or Sālā seems to go back to the same original. Through and through, this Vinaya gives as the limit in the North East "the river of the Bamboos" which, too, evokes the Śārāvātī. Such as it is, the passage is then inutilisable. The Pali Vinaya of the Sthavira school substitutes Salalavatī (with the variants) Sallavatī and Salilavatī; but the evidence of Jātaka I, 49 and Sumaṅgalavilāsini I, 173 confirms the reading Salala^o for Śārāvātī; it makes that river the boundary in the South East: *puratthimadakkhiṇāya disāya Salalavatī nāma nadi*. "The orientation of the South-East by the Pali work partly agrees with the orientation of the South by the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins; it is in absolute contradiction with the Brāhmaṇic conception of the Śārāvātī, which, separating the North and the East, must flow to the North-West of the country of the Middle, the Madhyadeśa, which is the land of strict observance.

The city of Śārāvātī (Śārāvātīnagari), which the vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstī Vādins places just on this side of the river Śārāvātī is not better known than that river itself. A city of the same name, it is true, appears in the Raghuvamśa XV, 97, as the capital where reigned Lava, son of Rāma, while his other son reigned at Kuśavatī :

"*Sa niveśya Kuśāvatyām ripunāgāṅkuṣam Kuṣam
Śārāvatyām Satām Suklāir janitāśrulavaṁ Lavaṁ.*"

This is at least the text adopted by Mallinātha and generally accepted on the authority of this commentator. But the commentators Vallabha, Vijayānandasūri and Caritravardhana read: *Śrāvastyāmca*. Hemādri and Sumalivijaya read: *Śrāvatyāmca*. And in fact, the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, which Kālidāsa follows, name the capital of Lava Śrāvastī, in the text of Bombay CVIII, 5, as in the text of Calcutta CXXI, 4: *Śrāvastitī purī ramyā Śrāvītāca Lavasyaca*.¹⁵ In fact, according to all the texts of the Rāmāyana, Lava reigned over Uttara Kośala, while Kuśa ruled over Kośala proper (*Kośalesu Kuṣam vīram uttaresu tathā Lavaṁ*.) Śrāvastī is the capital of Uttarakośala. The city and the river of Śārāvātī on the confines of the North and the East have nothing to do here.

* The Chinese characters are not given as they are not all available in our presses.

13. Tok, XVI, 4, 59-a, 17.

14. Vinaya pitaka Mahavasya V, 13, 12.

15. The edition of Gorresio, CXIII, 24 has Sravati: *Lavasya tu purim ramyām Śrāvatiṁ lokavīrutām*.

A precise location of the site of Gonarda with regard to the Śarāvati, which is not to be found, must then be given up. But one fact subsists: in the traditional division of Āryāvarta in two regions, North and East, Gonarda, treated grammatically as a locality of the "orientals", is not in the North, however may have come its secondary orientation. It is then not to be surprised if Varāhamihira, the only author known who mentions Gonarda after the texts already cited* places Gonarda among the countries of the south in his astrological chart of India, Brhatsamhita XIV, 12: *atha daksinena Lanka.....Bharukacchāḥ.....anVavāsikoḥ-Kaṇābhīrāḥ.....Akara-Ven-Avartaka (corr. ānart°) Daśapura Gonarda Keralakāḥ Kaṇṇāṭa.....Nāsikya.....Tumbavana Kārmaneyakāḥ.* The name of Gonarda appears twice more in the Brhatsamhita, in the interior of two purely astrological groupings: IX, 13, *anyenātrākṛante Mlecch Aḷavik Aśvajivi Gomantān Gonarda-Nica-Śūdrān Vaidehāmścānyāḥ Sprṣati.* And XXXII, 22: *Gonarda-cēdikukurān Kirāta-Vaidehakān hanti.* In his geographical nomenclature, Varāhamihira seems to throw the names at the hazard of the metre, so that nothing of their relative disposition can be inferred from a stand on the order of classification. Among these names of the southern regions, there is one, however, which deserves detaining attention: this is the name of Tumbavana. The locality is,

Some Purāṇas, notably the Mārkaṇḍeya, mention Gonarda along with the countries of the south.

- * "Sanka kālājīnāścaiva Śailika Nikatāstathā ||20
 Mahendra Malayādrau ca Dardureca Vasanti ye |
 Karkotakavane yū ca Bhrgukacchā Sakonṇkanāḥ ||21
 Sarvāścaiva tathā Ābhirā Venvātīranivasinah |
 Āvantayō Dāśapurā stathaiivā Kanilojanāḥ ||22
 Mahārāstrāḥ Sakarṇātā Gonardāś Citrakūtakah |
 Colāḥ Kolagirāścaiva Krauncadvīpajāṭādhārāḥ ||23
 Kāvērī-Ṛṣyamukasthā Nāsikyāścaiva ye janāḥ |
 Śankhaśuktyādi Vaidūrya-Śailaprāntacarāśca ye ||24
 Tathā Vāricarāḥ Kotaścarmapattani Vasinah |
 Ganvāhyāḥ Parāḥ Kṛṣṇadvīpavāsanivasinah ||25
 Sūryādrau Kumudādrāṇa ye vasanti tathā janāḥ |
 Ankḥāvanāḥ sa Piśikāś tathā ye Kārmanāyakāḥ ||26
 Dakṣiṇāḥ Kaurusā ye ca Ṛṣikāś Tāpasāsramāḥ |
 Ṛṣabhāḥ simhalāścaiva tathā Kāñcinivāsinah ||27
 Tīlangākūñjaradari-Kacchavāśāśca ye janāḥ |
 Tāmraparṇāstathā Kūksīriti Kūrmasya daksīṇe ||28

[Mark. Pur. Ch. LVIII

Bangavāsi Edition. Cal.] Translator.

however, as far as I know, completely unknown in literature. Nevertheless, in Paramatthajotikā, his commentary on the Suttanipata, Buddhaghosa remarks, on some verses of the Pārāyana, where Gonarda is mentioned: *Ujjenñcāpi Gonadham Vedisam Vanasavhayam*, that "Vanasavhaya (literally, 'which bears the name of a forest') designates Tumbavananagara; others maintain that this is Vanasāvattthi." (*Vanasavhayanti Tumbavanagaram* (sic) *vuccati Vanasāvattthinti pi eke*); the gloss is quoted by Anderson-Smith in their edition of the Sutta-nipāta¹⁶. Thus, according to the statement of Buddhaghosa Tumbavana will be the step between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbi, on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda towards the Yamunā. In fact, in the Stupa of Sanchi, near the site of Vidiśā (23° 28' N. Lat; and 77° 48' E. Long.) five inscriptions¹⁷ commemorate the donations made by some inhabitants of Tumbavana. Among the benefactors of the stupa are represented the inhabitants of Māhismate, Ujjayini and Vidiśā. It is astonishing not to meet some people of Gonarda.

The authenticity of the geographical nomenclature in the introduction of the Pārāyana is confirmed by a decisive trait. Bāvāri is here represented as settled on the bank of the Godāvāri, in the region of Aḷaka.

*So Assakassa visaye Aḷakassa Samāsane |
Vasī Godhāvarīkule uñchenaca phalena ca || (Verse 2).*

When his disciples leave him, their first step towards the North is the city of "Patitṭāna of Aḷaka" (*Aḷakassa Patitṭānam*, v. 36). Such is at least the text adopted by the editor, Fausbøll and Anderson-Smith. But the material for criticisms furnished by the latter show that in the two passages, the Burmese manuscripts have "Muḷaka" instead of Aḷaka. The inscription Siri Puḷumāyi at Nasik, enumerating the provinces re-annexed by Gautamīputa in his empire, names the country of Muḷaka, which it puts together with the country of Asaka (Assaka) exactly as does the Pārāyana: (*Asika-Asaka-Muḷaka-Suraṭha-Kukurāparanīta Anūpa Vidubha-Ākarāvati*) The latest editor of the inscription, M. Senart wrote about the name of Muḷaka: "The Muḷakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the Muṇḍakas, known from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa; and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the Śakas and Tukhāras is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of

16. Ad. loc., p. 194.

17. Luders List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.

into nd".¹⁸ Thanks to the text of the Pārāyaṇa the mystery is dissipated. The site of Muḷaka may also be determined with enough precision, since it is between Asaka (Assaka, Āsmaka) where exists the city of Pratiṣṭhāna (Patittana), now-a-days Paithan on the upper Godāvarī, near its source, and Surathā (Surāstra) which is the modern peninsula of Katthiawar. Muḷaka should then designate the portion of the coast with the rear-country, Guzarat, to the north of Bombay.

I shall perhaps be accused of attaching an excessive importance to the order of succession in which the names of provinces are unstrung in the inscription of Pulumāyi. But the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnār, which goes up to the same epoch, also contains a list of provinces subdued by Rudradāman, the adversary of the Śātakarṇi dynasty, to which belong Gotamiputa and Pulumāyi. His domain is partly formed of the territories conquered from the Śātakarṇis. Here will be found Ākarāvanti (Ākara + Avanti), Anūpa, Surāstra, Kukurāparānta (Kukura + Aparānta): *pūrvapar Ākar Avanti Anūpanivṛd Ānartta Surāṣṭa Svabhra-Maru-Kaccha-Sindhuvāṣṭra Kukur Aparānta Niṣadhādīnām*. But here the order of succession is inverse, since Rudradāman extended his conquests from the North to the South, starting from the region of Ujjayinī his capital,—whereas Gotamiputa starting from the banks of the Godāvarī, marched conquering from the South to the North.

The memory of the country of Muḷaka is perhaps not entirely effaced from the Purāṇic tradition. In the genealogy of the race of Iksāku, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (IV, 4) gives to Kalmāṣapāda, a son named Āsmaka; Āsmaka has for son and successor Muḷaka, surnamed Nārīkavaca, because some women hid and saved him at the time of the general massacre of the Kṣatriyas. Āsmaka is clearly an eponymous hero, the eponym of the country of Āsmaka, the "Stony" territory (āsman = "stone"), situated to the south of Avanti and closely connected with it. *Avantyaśmakāḥ*, Gaṇapāṭha, gaṇa Kārta Kaujapādayaḥ, *Āmakāvanti* in the Sarvāstivādi vinaya, episode of Koṭikarṇa; the Mūlasarvāstivādi vinaya¹⁹ has *Āmūparāntaka*, which Cowell and Neil wrongly read: *asmat parāntaka*). The relation between Āsmaka and Muḷaka so clearly expressed in the Pārāyaṇa (*So Assakassa viṣaye Muḷakassa Samāsane*, v 2) lets us think that the filiation indicated in the

18. Epigr. Indica VIII, 62

19. Divyāvadāna I,

Purāṇa between King Aśmaka and King Muḥaka interprets a geographical relation in the genealogy.

It will be less astonishing to meet in a section of the Suttanipāṭa with some details, so precise, of the geography of the regions that encircle the gulf of Cambay, if it is remembered that one of the pearls of the Collections, the admirable Dhaniyasutta²⁰ has the bank of the Mahī for its scene. The shepherd Dhaniya is settled here: *anutīre Mahiyā samāna vāso*; the Buddha passes a night on the bank of the river: *anutīre Mahiyekorattivāso*. The audacity of a poet and a local inspiration must have been necessary for bringing the Buddha in these exotic quarters so far from his real activity, in close contact of the sea, frequented by the barbarians.

20. Uragavagga; 2.

THE FORE-FATHERS OF RANI SAMYUKTA.

[Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandana Jagadeb Raja Bahadur,
Purathathvavisharath, Vidya Vachaspathi, Raja Saheb Tekkali.]

Princes belonging to several different dynasties had ruled over Utkal. But those of the Soma dynasty who were known by the title 'Kesari' ruled for a long time. Their rule in Utkal lasted for five centuries from 520 A.D. to 1042 A.D. The first King of this line was Jajati Kesari.

Buddhism was predominant in Orissa at the time he conquered this land. Jajati Kesari made serious attempts to re-establish Hinduism. But to renew idol-worship and other Hindu religious observances he could not find there a sufficient number of Brahmins at that time. He therefore wrote to the King of Kanauj requesting him to send Brahmins to enable him to perform some 'Yagas'. The required number of 10000 brahmins were readily sent by the ruler of Kanauj. Jajati Kesari had several sacrifices and other religious observances performed by these brahmins on the banks of the river Vaitharini.

The Kesari kings were followers of the Saiva school of Hinduism and so they chiefly aimed at spreading the Saiva faith in the land they ruled over. The important centres in Orissa of Buddhism at that time were Dhavalagiri, Khandagiri and Udaigiri near the present Bhuvaneswar. Lalatendu Kesari therefore transferred his capital to, and had a fort built at Ekambrakanana (the present Bhuvaneswar). There he built a famous temple of remarkable architecture for the God Linga Raj in 588 Saka or 666 A.D.† The ruins of the fort at Ekambrakanana are still found. Nrupa Kesari ruled from 920 A. D to 935 A.D. This King transferred his capital from Bhuvaneswar to Cuttack where he had a fort built called Barabati. His son, Marakata Kesari, had got a big bund erected to prevent the town from being flooded by the river Kathojhuri.

Swarna Kesari was the last of the Kesari kings. He rejected Saivism and embraced Vaishnavism. He lived for a long time in Puri to pray and worship the Lord Jagannath. He was a brave warrior himself and maintained a large army. When, during his invasion of

† गजाष्टेषु मितेजाते शकाब्दे कृतिवाससः

प्रासाद मकरोद्राजा ललाटेन्दु श्वकेक्षरी ।

the Deccan, Vijayapala, the ruler of Kanauj,* came to Utkal, he did not fight with Swarna Kesari in view of the old friendly relations between the rulers of Kanauj and Orissa. Swarna Kesari Mukunda Deb (that being the full name of the Kesari King) not only received him with great honour, but also gave the hand of his daughter in marriage to Jayachandra the grandson of Vijayapala. It was this royal couple that gave birth to the famous Rani Sanjukta.

Chand Bhatta, a courtier of Prithvi Raj (husband of Rani Sanjukata) had written about this fact in his book called 'Prithvi Raj Raso' as follows:—

समुद्रकि नरे के राजा मुकुन्द देव सोमवंसीका विजयपालको अपनो पुत्रीदेना ।
सोमवंश राजाधिराज । मुकुन्द देवप्रभु ॥ सरित समुद्र सुतटह कटक मयमगि
नृत्यननु ॥ तीसलण्व तीषार । लण्वगेवंगललज्जहिं ॥ दसहलण्वयदलह पुलत
दसखलति रज्जहिं ॥ दिवदिवस रितिमंतह जपति । जगन्नाथ

Translation .

Mukunda Deb of Soma dynasty whose capital was Cuttack on the seaside had 3000000 cavalry, 100000 elephants and 1000000 infantry. He was a devotee of Lord Jagannath. He entertained Vijayapala as a guest in his palace for ten days with great honour, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Vijayapala with a dowry of rich gifts such as precious stones, silks etc. along with a large retinue of servants. Vijayapala spent his time with Mukunda Deb in pleasure and comfort

* कन्नौ जके राजा विजयपालका दक्षिणा दिशा पर चढाई करना कनवज्जह
कामधज्ज राज जयपालराजवर ॥ इयगयनरवर भोर । सकलकियसेनजितपर ॥
वीरधीरवर सगुन । भारउध्धारमहामति ॥ मत्तिराम शितविध (व्य) बीयरमाधि
राज्जरति ॥ संचस्यौ सेन सजिविजैनग । सकलजीतिभर राजधर ॥ मुखस्यदिस्य
त्रमसंगकिय । क्रम्यौ देस हक्षिनसुधर ॥ ६ ॥ २०१ ॥

पूजतदिनह ॥ दिगविजयकरन विजयपालनृप । सपतकोसभिद्योतिनह ॥ ६ ॥ २०२
मुकुन्ददेवकिपुत्रीका जयचंदके साथढाहोना । अतिआदर आदरिय । सहस
दसदीनगयदंहु ॥ धनअसंघनमुत्ति । रतनघटसमुनिमन्नदहु ॥ सौप्रजंकरजंक्ति ।
कोटिदसपाटपटंवर ॥ दिटपुत्रीसुविसाल । दासि सें सत्तअडंवर ॥ परषीसुपुती
जयचंददिषि । सुभ्ययुन्हाइयआसरिग ॥ वरसवरपंचदंपतिदिनह । पानिग्रहन
उत्तिमकरिग ॥ ६ ॥ २०३

अतिसुललित सरूपविष । रमहितराजनसंग । इक्थारभीजनकरहिं अतिसुषज
पतिमसंग । २०४ ।

A REPLY TO
The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhēdhi

by Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VIII
Part 4 pp. 233-237.

BY
G. RAMADAS.

The aim of the author appears to point out what he considers to be faulty in my discourse on the Mandasa Plates of Anantavarma-deva, Saka 913, published in J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVII pp. 175-88. In support of his statements he did not cite any authority. If his desire was to support the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for 1917-18, there is no use of pronouncing dogmatic statements; but text and verse should be quoted in support of it from other records or Sanskrit literature. In the absence of such examples from the ancient writings what he has said becomes something like a table-talk of friends, having nothing to do, sit together and decry everything they do not like in the world. As such his remarks do not require any reply. But after I have published my discourse on the Mandasa Plates, some of my scholar friends required me to supply with examples from ancient writings in support of my interpretation of the Chronogram expressing the date of charter. Now I take this opportunity to give that information while pointing out that Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh's points of criticism are not sound.

I have observed, long ago, that some mistakes were left uncorrected in the discourse on the Mandasa Plates but it was too late to correct them. After all, they are not of such a serious type as those that are committed by the learned critic. If Kielhorn is spelt as Keilhorn; if Ugrakhēdi in the translation is not corrected to Bhāma-khēdi; and 'above' in the foot notes to E.1. the discourse is not affected. Yet I tender my apology to the readers of J.B. & O.R.S. for having left those uncorrected. In the reply to the points of criticism raised by Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, I shall give reference to the page and paragraph containing the point of objection raised by him.

P. 233-p. 4. The learned critic thinks that 'Sakala-Kalingādhīpati' and 'Tri-Kalingādhīpati' convey the same sense. Do 'Sakala' mean the

1 My articles on 'Tri-Kalinga' in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 16-23 and J. B. & O. R. S. December 1928.

same as 'Tri'? If 'Sakala-Kalingādhīpati' gives the same idea as 'Tri-Kalingādhīpati', the Kings of Tripuri and the Somavamśi Kings of Orissā would have been the rulers of 'Sakala-Kalinga'. But they were not so. In that very Epigraphical Report from which the learned critic quoted the extract which formed the second paragraph on the page referred to above it is said, 'it has, however, to be noticed that these earlier *Varman* Kings called themselves 'lords of Kalinga', while the later Kings called themselves 'lords of TriKalinga'. If both these phrases 'convey the same sense': Why is this specially notified by the Superintendent for Epigraphy?

The next question of this learned critic, in the same paragraph is, Are the Kalachuris and the Chedis two different tribes? From my sentence'.....'which title was much coveted by the Gangas of Kalinga in the east and the Kalachuri and Chēḍi Kings on the west', the learned critic appears to have understood that I had meant two separate tribes. Is the definite article repeated before each word? Let him refer to the English Grammar Book III by J. C. Nesfield p. 167 and take answer to his question.

Page 234, para 1. As the king was not the donor, the poet-composer was not concerned with giving the full titles of the over-lord' is the gist of his arguments. In the first place, the gotra and the genealogy do not come under the titles. They indicate the origin of the family and the pedigree of the king. Was it the concern of the poet-composer to give all the titles of the King except these two that really show the nobility of the family? Was he afraid that, if he included them, his master, the donor, would get angry? The learned critic may be informed that the drafting of the deeds of this sort did not depend on the whims and caprices of the poet composer. The several facts to be mentioned in the charter, the order in which they should be stated do entirely depend upon the will of the King and poet-composer's business was simply to clothe them in a proper language. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh is of opinion that the points mentioned depend on these poet-composers and also upon the places at which the charters are written. The Smṛtis prescribe them. During the time of Pratapa Rudra Gajapati of Orissa, all the rules required for the administration of a Kingdom were collected from these Smṛtis and were given with commentary

1 The glory or greatness of the chief depends upon that of his suzerain lord. The vassals borrow their dignity from that of their over-lords. The Kondavidu C.P. of Ganadeva (I.A. Vol. XX pp.) and the Gopinathapura inscription (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX 1900, No.2) are instances of charters issued by the feudatory chiefs under Kapilcsvara Deva of Orissa. The former was written in the south and the latter in the north, consequently the authors must be different. In the portion containing the eulogy of the Suzerain lord, is any point omitted in each of them?

in a book called 'Sarasvati Vilasam'. Of course, the commentary therein is such as was suitable to the 16th century A.D., but the Smṛtis were written many centuries before. Any poet-composer irrespective of his own intelligence, of the place of writing or of the chief whose service he holds, must mention the things required in the order prescribed in the Smṛtis. Even the feudatory chief¹ cannot amend or omit any fact that might have been in vogue at that time. Can the learned critic show me one example of a charter issued by a feudatory chief omitting to mention all the points given in the eulogy of his Suzerain lord? The pedigree is essential to declare the antiquity of the ruler. It increases as the King achieves greater glory and more territory. Observe the genealogies given in the shorter and the longer copper plate charters of Anantavarman Chodā Ganga Deva. The shorter ones are almost like the charters of his grand father, Tri-Kalingādhīpati Vajrahasta Deva while the longer—only two have yet been discovered—give an increased pedigree. When the former King gained more territory, he grew ambitious and after a long and persistent search might have discovered the names of Kings that reigned before Gunamahārnavā from whom the reigning king had been traced in the time of his grand-father. Should not the feudatory chief obtain the sanction of their Suzerein lord for every charter he issued? If not, how could it obtain the imperial seal on it? Does not the seal on the ring that held these Mandasa plates together, contain the couchant bull and other emblems of the Kalinga Ganga Kings? Would the King tolerate the omission of his pedigree, if he had any? If the Anantavarmadeva of the Mandasa plates were the same as the donor of the Narasapatam and the Nadgam plates, who also bore the title of Anantavarman, how could he allow the non-inclusion of his pedigree in the first set of plates? According to our learned critic the date of the Mandasa plates is saka 976. Let us allow it. The date of the Narasapatam plates is saka 976. If the King in both were the same, why did not the pedigree that had been mentioned in a document, appear in another document written nine years later? The date of the coronation of the King is invariably given in every charter of Tri-Kalingādhīpati Vajrahasta Deva does not find mention in the record under question. Again the Mandasa plates state that his family had the stains of Kali age removed by bowing to the feet of the god Gokarna while the charters of Tri-Kalingādhīpati Vajrahasta Deva record that his family had the stains of Kali washed by bathing in the holy waters and received the several war-weapons from the god Gokarna. If the sovereign mentioned in the Mandasa and the Narasapatam records were the same, though the donor of the former was a feudal chief, would such differences exist? Would the king allow such widely different facts said? There are five sets of the Tri-Kalingādhīpati's, charters that have been

known till now. All of them are alike in style. Their poet-composers and scribes were different. But the Mandasa plates do not resemble any one of them.

Para 3. In this paragraph the learned critic asks, 'What appreciable difference in the formation of letter can there be in an interval of (976-913) 63 years?'. In my paper, I pointed out under Orthography pp. 176-178 every peculiarity in the script used in the grant. Epigraphic Indica Vol. XI gives the facsimile of the Narasapatam plates dated 967 (No. 14) and Professor Sten Konow gives the peculiarities he had observed of the alphabet of the document. The two comments may be compared and the alphabet used in each of the plates may be observed. A casual observer cannot see anything; an analytical study of each letter should be made. These differences cannot be explained in so many words.¹

Paras 4, 5 & 6. Here the learned critic comes to the crux. The 5th para is an extract from my paper. The sixth contains the question, why I had made alterations in ending vowels of the component parts of the Chronogram. Does not the context require that the compounds intimating the year should be in the locative case? The question shows that the learned critic is as well acquainted with Sanskrit grammar. That he should think that 'mata' should be 'mita' is another evidence. The ordinal number is formed by the addition of 'tama' only and to illustrate the use of 'tama' I give a few extracts from other records of olden days.

I Gupta Inscriptions p. 233, Mathura Buddhist image inscription.

L.1. Samvatsara śate-panchastri (triṃ) ś-ottara tamē.

II ibid p. 70.

L.3. Samvatsara-śate shach(ṭ) chatvā

L.4. [ri *] mśad-uttara tamē

P. 235 para 1. The learned critic declares, 'There is no authority or argument for taking both in units place and adding them, particularly when two places viz., places of units and tens are to be filled in.'

1 Comparative details of the script are given here: Mandasa plates: 738 syllables in all of which 59 Telugu characters. Narasapatam plates dated Saka 967:—1577 syllables of which only 13 are Telugu; and the rest are all Nagari. Nandagam plates dated saka 979:—1330 syllables of which all are Nagari; no admixture. Between the Mandasa plates and the Narasapatam plates, there is a difference of 46 in the use of the Telugu characters.

In the last clause of this sentence his knowledge of elements of arithmetic is exhibited. Do we not get *one* to fill in the tenths place and *three* in the units place by adding the two figures 6 and 7. So his argument fails in the first place. In support of his interpretation he did give no authority and by saying, 'there is no authority' he hints that he could give none either in support or against it—If I cite authorities here and deduce arguments therefrom, it is not for him but for the information of those friends whom I have already referred to.

III Gupta Inscriptions No 15 p. 67

L.4. Varshē-ttrimśad-das-aik-ottaraka Śata tamō

Here *trimśad* and *dasa* are two numbers in the tenths place. That 3 and 1 are to be in that place is intimated by giving their multiples of ten. Are not 3 and 1 units? What do we do with them? We add them and put the sum in the tenths place as indicated in the record.

So far as I am aware of, there is not a record which does not mention a number consisting of two or more figures without giving the place value of each figure in it and grammar does not allow that a compound number should be given without indicating the local value of each number in it when the local value of one is given. Whenever numbers are mentioned in their prime form, there is some word added to indicate what should be done with such numbers.

IV E. I. Vol. II p. 124. Date of the death of the Saiva ascetic Allaṭa)

Jātābdānam Sahasrē ttrigunanava-yutō.

Here *three* and *nava* are unit numbers; that they should be multiplied is indicated by the word 'guna'. Similarly,

V A.S.I, An Rep 1922-23 p. 187

Ll. 10-11 Śaradganē pañcha-śate vyatītē tri-ghātīt-ashṭ-ābhya-dhike Kramēṇa||

Three and eight are to be multiplied (ghātīt). Let the learned critic observe here how a figure is obtained for the tenths place from two unit numbers, especially *when two places viz., places of the units and the tenths are to be filled in*

When no such indication is made—giving the multiples of ten of the two figures, the sum of which is to be in the tenths place, or giving a word which means 'multiplied by'—the units should be added. Examples of this case are many in the Rāmāyana. I shall quote a few of them from the Tanjore edition of the Vālmiki Rāmāyana. The number fourteen is expressed in Kanda II.

त्वयारयं प्रवेष्टव्यं नववर्षाणिपञ्चच. 9 & 5 units = 14) Sarga 18, sl. 35.

सप्तसप्तचवर्षाणि दशङ्कारय वासिनः (7 & 7 units = 14) do. do. sl. 37.

स षट् चाष्टौ च वर्षाणि
or सषडष्ट च वर्षाणि } 6 & 8 units = 14) do. 20, sl. 31.

इमानितु महारये विहृत्य नवपञ्चच वर्षाणि (9 & 5 = 14) do. 24, sl. 17.

The number 17 is expressed as

दशसप्त च वर्षाणि तवजातस्य राघव do. 20, sl. 45.

The copulative च denotes 'and' but has no distinctive indication of addition in it. In the last example दशसप्तच whether there is च or no we add 10 & 7. The same number seventeen is expressed as सप्तदश without च. From twelve to twenty, the units place and then the tens are spoken of in English also e.g. 3 + 10 = three + ten = thirteen; seven + ten = seventeen and so on. This सप्तदश is found used in 'Śrīmad-Vikrama-Kāl-ātita-saptadaś-ādhika trayodasa śatika. (I. A. Vol. VI, pp. 210 ff. ll. 1-2). Daśa has the two laghu mātras; so has 'rasa'; Saptarasa is metrically the same as Saptadaśa. The chronogram of the Mandasa plates, 'Sapta-rasa tamē nava sataka' with a little change of the order of the compounds, reads like the extract given above. When sapta & dasa are added why not sapta and the number for which 'rasa' stands i.e. 7 & 6? One may argue here that, since both the numbers are not given in numerical words, one is a numerical word (sapta) and the other is a word-figure (rasa)—they may not be added. In Sanskrit the numerical words unless they be units are not given without the indication of the local value of each. If there is no such indication, each must be considered to be units and all units shall be added. In expressing a number consisting of two or more figures, it begins with the units place, then tens, then hundreds and so on. Yet the sum of units and tens are added on to hundreds and some such word as 'tama' or adhika is added. e.g.

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- 1 In the *letter-system* each of the consonants of the alphabet (sanskrit) is given a value and numbers of two or more figures by expressing the letters in the order in which each figure occupies according to his local value. The units first, then the tens and then hundreds and so on. e.g. Ni-ha-ra = 0,8,2 = 280; sa-ya-la = 315; etc. The letters indicate the figures for which they stand in their unit form and the local value of each figure is to be understood from the position of the corresponding letter in the word.

Śatēshu dvādasau nava navatyuttarēshu (= 1299) nava navati (99) is added on (uttara) to 1200. Here nava is units and navati is tens. Sanskrit mathematicians even today carry on notation from left to right. But in the vernaculars of India, the notation is done from right to left. So, the Sutra, 'Varnānām vāmatogatih' is designed to convert Sanskrit notation to the Vernacular or English notation. The need for this sutra happened in this way. It was found out that the place-value indicators require more breath to express and more space to write; and that, therefore, the omission of these indicators might not alter the value of the number. The figures in the number consequently appear in their prime form but are expressed in the order in which they stand when joined by the local value indicators. I have not met with a number the figures which are expressed in numerals alone without the local-value indicators for each. It is the word-figures that are useful for expressing the figures in a number in their units form e.g. aja-giri-nidhi Śākābde. E I. Vol. IV. p. 189 ff. In such expressions the numerals are also mixed where possible. e.g. vasu-nava-ashta. Whether expressed in word-figures purely or in a mixture of word-figures and numerals, the place value of no one figure is given. If the place value of one is given, that of each of the others also must be given. If not so given the other figures should be taken in their Prime values e.g. Nava-sata-yugala. Here the local value of nava (9) is given by 'sata'. The value of 'yugala' (2) is not given. We cannot put it in the tenths place on the plea that the tenths place naturally comes after hundreds that is to be filled in. Since Yugala indicates only the prime number 2 we must put in the units place and keep the tenths place vacant. The given chronogram becomes expressed in figures 902. Similarly in the chronogram under question, 'nava-sataka sapta-rasa tame' the place value of 'nava' is given; but of sapta and rasa are not given—They must be taken for their face value and be added as has been shown in the case of the two figures in the tenths place cited above. In whatever way we consider, it is proved that 7 and 6 in the expression must be added.

The interpretation assumed by the Superintendent for Epigraphy and our learned critic on the reason that the suzerain lord mentioned in the Mandasa plates was an Anantavarma and the donor of the Nadagam plates was also called Anantavarma and that, therefore, they are both identical does not stand, for identity of names cannot make the persons identical. There is chronology. It must also support it and the interpretation of the year must be supported by similar examples. In the absence of such authorities whatever is said will be futile.

P. 235, paras 3, 4 & 5. Mr. 'Jogendra Chandra Ghosh then proceeds to question my reading of 'Samasta Padnāra 15' and without

understanding what it is or of what language, he attempts to adjust 'Samasta' to suit his own purpose. Let the learned readers consider why of the two words, 'Samasta' and 'Samāpta', which he himself admitted are nearest to 'Samasta' of the record, he took 'Samāpta' though 'Samasta' is the very word itself. Now coming to 'padnara', the figure '15' after the word clearly indicates the real form of the word. 'Samasta' is a word used in Oriya records. 'Padnara' must be an Oriya word. That there are many signs of Oriya influence in the document has been shown in my review of the plates. So the Oriya word for '15' is 'pandra', colloquially 'pandara'; the syllable 'nda' has been written 'dna'. The cordinal form is 'pandraro'. I spelt the word as the Oriyas pronounce it. There is the expression 'pandraro' '15'. His next statement was that he could not find 'samasta' mentioned even once in the 35 of Mukhalingam inscriptions quoted by M. M. Chakravarti. If Chakravarti did not mention, how am I responsible for it? How could he have accepted the extracts given by him to be true to the originals? When he was so very punctilious to raise objections to the interpretations of figures given by such savants as Dr. Hultseh, why did he not verify these extracts with the originals, now made available in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V. The Oriya inscriptions in the Jagannatha and Bhuvanēśvara temples are published by the same author whom he has quoted, in a volume of J.A.S.B. (Vol. LXII part I of 1893). Even now he can refer to them and get satisfaction.

The very Mandasa plates under question is the evidence to show that the samasta or anka system was in vogue prior to the reign of Trikalīngādhipati Vajrahastadeva. Ignoring this purposely or by oversight, he commits another blunder by saying that M. M. Chakravarti did not notice the anka system in the reigns of Kings before Rajaraja II. Was not this Rajaraja II the son, and successor of Anantavarman Chōḍa Gangadeva? Did not M. M. Chakravarti notice it in the reign of this later ruler? In everyone of my discourses on the Ganga copper plates in which this anka system had to be referred to, I gave such notes as were pertinent to the subject therein. In my discourse on the Chicacole plates of Madhu-Kāmarnavadeva of saka 526, I have given illustrations to prove that it had been in vogue in the time of Trikalīngādhipati Vajrahastadeva, and even long before he ascended the throne of Kalinga.

P. 236. He now says that the regnal year given in the Mandasa plates was that of the over-lord but not of the donor. In 1932 he said that the regnal year was of Dharmakhēdhi' but in 1934 he transfers it to Anantavarman. What miracle had happened during these two years

for him to change his opinion? Kanyāsulkam is a Telugu colloquial social drama and in it is said that 'change of opinions makes a politician'. Perhaps that saying applies to these research scholars of history. In this very article to which I am replying, he says that the poet-composer was not concerned to give the gotra and the genealogy of the overlord, in one place, implying that the poet-composer was chiefly concerned to mention everything regarding his employer. But when he comes to the question of the regnal year, the poet-composer altered his mind and transferred his concern to the suzerain lord of his master. Let the readers observe what consistency in arguments, this learned critic maintains!

P. 236, paras 3 & 4. In these paragraphs he wonders at my mathematical feats. 'It is beyond our conception by what mathematical feat Mr. Ramadas has arrived at his figure.' Says he what I said was, 'This is 594 years prior to the *Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva* that was crowned in Saka 960.' But in his criticism he says, 'the interval between the first year of *Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga* and the last year of Kāmarnava IV according to both is 98½' and then boldly pronounces that my calculation did not come correctly'. But let him answer by what superhuman faculty he did transform my *Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva* into his *Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga*: He ignored the qualifying clause 'who was crowned in Saka 960' I have added it to identify which *Anantavarma* I had meant.' What kind of feat is this? The learned critic performs such ultra mundane feats himself and yet wonders at the simple subtraction of one figure from another as a mathematical feat!!!

Para 5 requires no explanation here, in the first place, I did not assert it for, the sentence begins with, 'it may be assumed'; secondly that very question has been dealt with more elaborately in my criticism of 'The initial date of the Ganga Era' by this learned critic in the Indian Antiquary of December 1932 pp. 237-38.

Page 237. He begins with, 'Yet another discovery is in store for us.' Here he exhibits his faculty of attributing one's discoveries to the credit of another. It was the discovery announced by the Superintendent for Epigraphy and I repeated it. Let him read the portion he has omitted in his extract on p. 233 which he has quoted from the Epigraphical Report for 1917-18.

Para 5. Do 'Paramēśvara' and 'Paramamāhēśvara' mean the same thing? Then Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja, Rāja and Mahārāja, Upādhyāya, Mahōpādhyāya, Mahāmahōpādhyāya must have been considered to signify the same honour, rank and dignity. Why do men

1 In his article 'The Initial Date of the Gangeya Era', (I.A. December 1932, p. 238-11 f) he says that 'the interval was 59 years according to this date.' Did he not refer to this paper when he wrote this criticism on the Mandasa plates?

waste their breath by pronouncing such a big word as Mahārājādhirāja when the same sense is conveyed by the simple word rāja ?

Para 5 The learned critic wonders how I could make 'such unauthorised assumptions in the face of the Simhapura plates of the Gangeya era 520 = Saka 938' In my review of the Chicacole plates of Anantavarma's son Madhu-Kāmārṇava, dated 526 Ganga era, published in J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, 1932 parts III & IV it is pointed out, on p. 292 para 2 that Ganga era 520 corresponds to S. S. 791. This was based on the result of the investigations I had carried on to discover the saka year when the Ganga era had been begun. These investigations were first incorporated in the paper 'Chronology of the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga' published in J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. IX pp. 398-415. Subsequently all those investigations have been shown in my discourse on the Chicacole plates of Anantavarma's son Madhukāmārṇava referred to above. Basing on such sound mathematical conclusions if I say, he calls it assumption. But his declaration Gangeya era 520 = Saka 938 is not an assumption though unsupported by strong proofs. In my criticism' on the 'Initial Date of the Ganga Era' I pointed out, 'Thus Mr. Ghosh's date failed and even the date corrected according to his own data failed to satisfy all the data fully'. With such an assumption which has so many flaws shown in the above mentioned paper, how can he declare that the year 520 of the Gangeya era corresponds to the Saka year 938? The date of the Mandasa plates' has been shown to be Saka 913 and in this paper, authorities in support of it are given. The Gangeya year 520 has been shown to correspond to Saka 791.' The former is 122 years later than the latter. But still he says that what I said was assumption, though my statements were invariably supported by extracts from the ancient records and Sanskrit literature. In the face of these evidences how can anybody prove—with fact and figure—that the Dharmakhēdhi of the Mandasa Plates and the Dharmakhēdhi of the Simhapura Plates' was one and the same person. Names may be the same but the persons bearing those names were different.

In conclusion, I may say that many of the scholars who have been working in the field of historical research have been making very venturous assumptions, basing their arguments on the similarity of names. Unless this synchronism be backed by chronology, their identifications fail and history becomes a myth.

1 J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XX pt. 1, 1934 P. 36, p. 2 ll 1-2,

2 Ibid. Vol. XVII Pts. II-III pp. 175 ff.

3 Ibid, Vol. XVIII Pts. III-IV pp. 272 ff.

4 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III pp. 171 ff.

The Ponduru Copper-plate Inscription of Vajrahasta II of the Kalinga kingdom.

Manda Narasimham.

1. History of the plates: This is a set consisting of three plates strung together by means of a circular solid copper ring nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Each plate measures 9" by 4". The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 236 tolas. The seal circular in shape is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " across. On the surface of the disc are impressed in bold relief the figure of a 'Nandi' or bull in the centre. On the top is the crescent moon and towards the right and left of the 'Nandi' are an 'Ankusa' and a 'Chāmara'. These plates were found in the village of 'Pondūru' (Chipurupalli Taluk, Vizag Dt) 12 miles from Chicacole. They are procured by my relation M. R. Ry, Adikarla Satyanarayanamoorthy Pantulu Garu, Proprietor, Nimmalavalasa Estate and hand over to me for examination. The rims of the first and the third plates are raised inside and those of the middle plate are raised both sides so as to protect the writing. Each plate has writing on both sides. The text of the inscription begins as usual on the 2nd face of the 1st plate and the last portion is written on the 1st face of the 1st plate. This is done perhaps by the shortage of one plate. Thus we see no covers are arranged to protect the writing.

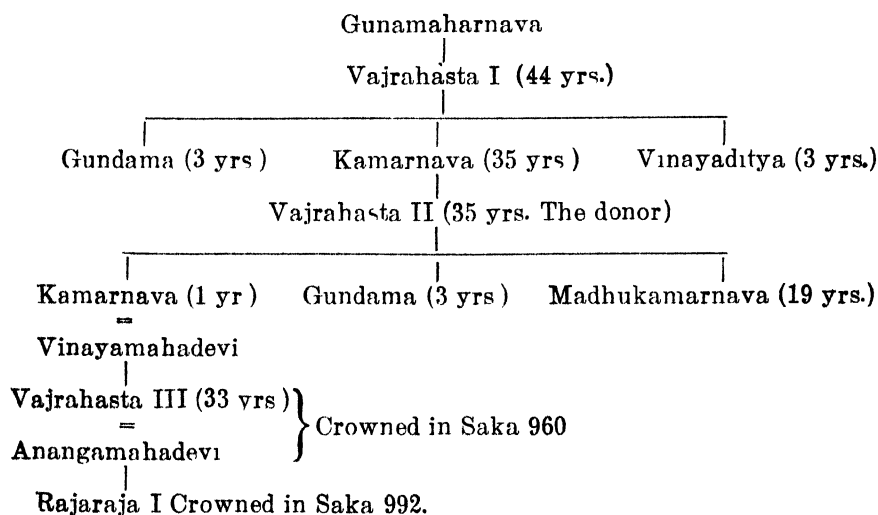
2. Alphabet and writing: The alphabet employed is old Nagari and the language is Sanskrit. In writing the names of villages (many of them are pure Telugu names) the hard 'r' called Śakata Rēpha is also used. There are many errors of writing which are indicated by foot-notes under the text. The whole inscription is written in prose and the Vyāsa Gītas in poetry.

3. Head quarters of the King: This grant is issued from Dantapura as can be seen from its description in line 4 plate 1 face 2. This is the same Dantapura as mentioned in the Buddhistic Chronicles. This place is now identified with the modern village of 'Dantavarapukota' 4 miles from Chicacole Ry. Station.

4. Genealogy of the King: Unlike other Eastern Ganga Copper plate grants which give long lists of successive rulers with the number of years of their rule, this grant gives the names of the donor and his father only. Vajrahasta is stated to be the son of Kamarnava of the Ganga line of kings. The kings of this line are in the habit of

dating their C. P. grants in the Śaka Era; but our king indicates the date of his grant in the 'Pravardhamana Ganga Era'.

The kings of this dynasty trace their origin from Gunamaharnava. We know from other sources that his son Vajrahasta I ruled for 44 years. He has three sons, Gundama, Kamarnava and Vinayaditya and all of them ruled the country in turn for a period of 41 years. Kamarnava's son is Vajrahasta II the present donor. He issued these in the 29th year of his rule (Vide lines 4 and 5 plate 3 side 2). From other records we know that his rule lasted for 35 years. The following genealogical table can be constructed with the help of the C P. grants of Vajrahasta III and Rajaraja I.



We also know that Vajrahasta II gave this grant in the 29th year of his rule. Calculating backwards from the coronation of Vajrahasta III i.e., Saka 960 we have 29 yrs. intervening and hence we get Saka 931 or A D 1009 as the date of the grant of the present inscription. The donor further states that the grant is made in the 100th year of the Ganga Era. From inscription we will have to conclude that the Pravardhamana Ganga Era must have been in A.D. 909. But the already acknowledged date of this Era is A. D. 496. It is therefore to be inferred that the date of 100 G.E. as given in this C.P. is wrong or the date already accepted must be altered.

7. Object of the grant: King Vajrahasta gave this grant to two persons Ganga Nayaka and Hana Nayaka, grandson and son respectively of Bali Nayaka in recognition of the valour of Bali Nayaka who saved the life of Vajrahasta in the battlefield. It appears that under

the order of the king, the soldier Bali Nayaka, at the risk of his own life killed the enemy who was aiming at the neck of his master Vajrahasta. For this act of heroism the king gave ten villages as a gift for the maintenance of the son and grandson of the courageous Bali Nayaka. The villages are 1 Rāka, 2 Samsōka, 3 Muttarilamu, 4 Pondūru, 5 Talacheruvu, 6 Chirilemu, 7 Varāva, 8 Thandami, 9 Gāra and 10 Jāmva. Of these the village of Pondūru came to the lot of Ganda Nayaka and Jāmva grāma to the share of Itana Nayaka. The boundaries of these two villages are minutely described and those for the other villages are not given at all. Perhaps they form full unit villages and require no stating of the boundaries.

6. Substance of the grant: Dantipura, the victorious city like Amarapura, gives happiness all the year round. The city abounds with rows of high towering white palaces. It always presents the gay appearance of a beautiful dancing girl. Many great and renowned scholars adorn the city. Its ruler Kāmarnava is the worshipper of the lotus feet of the god Gokarnaswami enshrined on the Golden mountain peak of Mahendra. This mountain gives shelter in its numerous caves to many a Saint. The God Gokarna is the stage director of the mobile and the immobile creation of the universe. By the adoration of this God, the king washed off all the sins of the Kali age. He is the overlord of many vassal kings who were subdued and tamed down by the victorious war cry emanating from the fierce battle field. His lotus feet are resplendent with the lustre of the gems set in the crowns of the vassal kings who bend their heads in prostration at the feet of their lord. He is the best of the line of Ganga kings. He is the lord of the whole Kalinga. He is the devout worshipper of the feet of his parents. He is the abode of such noble qualities as justice, obedience, kindness, charity, mercy, valour, grandeur, truth and self-sacrifice. Such a great king is Kāmarnava. After his death, he is succeeded by his son Vajrahasta. This king made prostrate at his feet many great and powerful kings. He worshipped the lotus feet of the Sun-god (perhaps enshrined in the temple at Arasavelli). The deeds of his valour extend as far as the divine river Ganges. He is the gem of the Ganga line of kings. Among the members of this line, Vajrahasta is, like a crocodile in water, indomitable. He assembled the householders residing in the villages of Tandami, Soka and Muttarila, situated in the district of Endumara; Pondūru, Talacheruvu, Chirilemu, Gāra and Jandiram situated in the Murāpaka district, and Varāva and Tanta situated in the district of Varakattu and announced the following royal order thus: "These villages situated within the specified boundaries are given away as a gift free of all taxes with all rights pertaining to water and land. Soldiers both regular and irregular shall not enter

into the said limits. "This gift is made for the religious merit, longevity and fame of myself and my parents. It shall continue so long as the Moon, Sun and Earth exist. I bestow this gift in recognition of the services of Bali Nayaka who severed the head of my enemy that aimed at my throat unmindful of his own life. The gift is made in favour of Ganda Nayaka and Itana Nayaka, grandson and son respectively of Bali Nayaka for their maintenance in view of the great and heroic sacrifice on the battlefield and of the unflinching loyalty to me".

The following villages are granted to Ganda Nayaka 1 Rāka, 2 Sam-sōka, 3 Muttarilamu, 4 Pondūru, 5 Talacheruvu, 6 Chirelemu, 7 Varava, 8 Thandami and 9 Gara. The boundaries of Ponduru are—Northeast—The villages of Nāniya, and Kraunchavara and a row of stones between the villages of Vimana and Thandaka. East—The villages of Nōmi-yatha and Lankarayi. Southeast—The thrikūta of Munāpaka and Kalvarayi. South—Hanmangarika, Āchatlya, Muringa and Varava. Southwest—Irupivaramēnta, Varaja and the Krishna mountain. West—Mallarummēnta, trikūta of Varāva and the forest of Rēga. North-west—Mallamu, Ilindia mountain and trikūta. North—Uruvu, Uttudu, Undaki, Parvateswara and the channel leading to these four villages. The boundaries of this village are thus defined.

In the middle of the 29th year of the rule of Vajrahasta son of Kāmārnava the village of Jāmyagrāma is given to Itana Nayaka of the Kalvapa family, son of Bali Nayaka and the boundaries of this village are:—N.E.—Bāttarēvu, E.—Ant hill with Kadamba trees, S.E.—Margosa tree, ant hill and a wood apple tree on an ant hill, S.—Trikūta and Kadamba trees, S.W.—Vata and kadha trees and flat stones, W.—Forest, N.W.—Mountain, N.—Channel of the village of Jamva and a line of tamarind trees. The boundaries of this village are defined.

Then follow three Vyāsagitas. This grant is made on Sunday on the 1st day in the month of Āshāda in the Pravardhamana Vijaya-raja year 100 (The number of years is both in figures and words as Sata 100 Ankēnapi). The grant is given with the sanction of the foreign secretary by name Śāmapa. The plates are engraved by the Smith Vakhānoju.

7. Remarks: The Ganga Era is not still thoroughly fixed beyond doubt. Messrs. G. Ramadas and R. Subbarao differ widely. The present plates clearly state in words and numerals that the grant is made in the 100th year of Ganga Era. The donor Vajrahasta is stated to be the son of Kāmārnava. The first Kamarnava, grandson of Gunamaharnava, has ruled the country for 35 years. I identify his son Vajrahasta with the donor of the present plates. Either the date in

the present document is wrongly stated or the assignment of A.D. 496 is wrong. If both are correct, then this Vajrahasta must belong to some collateral line. Scholars will have to think again of this important subject and try to fix it on a thoroughly strong foundation. Many important problems cannot be adequately solved unless the starting date of the Ganga Era is well ascertained.

Some of the villages mentioned in this grant either as gift or as forming boundaries can be identified with the modern villages in the Chipurupalli and Vizianagaram Taluks of the Vizag District.

I give below the names of the villages named in the grant and their modern names :

Villages mentioned in the plates.

Their modern names.

1. Dantipura	...	... Dantavarapukota
2. Endumara	...	... Enduva
3. Tandami	...	... Tandemu
4. Sōka	...	... Not identified
5. Muṭṭarila	...	... Muṭṭūru
6. Muṛṛāpaka	...	... Murapāka
7. Paunduru	...	... Pondūru
8. Talacheruvu	...	... Talacheruvu
11. Jandirām	...	... Jandirām
12. Varakaṭṭa	...	... Not identified
13. Varāva	...	... do.
14. Tānta	...	... do.
15. Rāka	...	... do.
16. Samsōka	...	... do.
17. Kaunchavaram	...	... Kaṇcharām
18. Vimina	...	... Not identified
19. Tandaka	...	... do.
20. Sōmiyava	...	... do.
21. Lankaraya	...	... do.
22. Nemi	...	... do.
23. Kalvarāyi	...	... Kalavarāyi
24. Hanmamgarika	...	... Garikavalasa.
25. Muringa	...	... Not identified
26. Varāta	...	... do.
27. Vanjaram	...	... Vanjaram
28. Rēga	...	... Pusapāti Rēga
29. Jamva	...	... Jāmi
30. Baṭṭarēvu	...	... Not identified.
31. Gara	...	... Gara (in Chicacole Taluk.)

Text of the Inscription.*

1st plate 2nd side.

- 1 खस्त्यमर पुरानुकारिणः सर्वर्तु सुख रमणीया
- 2 द्विजयवद्वहन सुधा धवळ प्रासाद माला दवि¹रित व
- 3 र विलासिनी ललित लास्या²दोर्द्दण्ड पण्डितकुलालंकृत श्री
- 4 दन्ति पुरवासकात् प्रसिद्ध मिद्धतानेक³वसा ध्यामि
- 5 कंदरीदर महेन्द्र चलामल कनक शिखर प्रतिष्ठित
- 6 स चरा चर गुरोः सकल भुवन निमाणैक सूत्रधार
- 7 स्यशशांकचूडामगो भगवतो गौकर्णखामिन श्रवण
- 8 कमल युगल प्रणामा⁴धिगत सकल कलि कलं
- 9 को नेकाहव संक्षोभ जनित जयशब्द⁵प्रतापवनात

2nd plate; 1st side.

- 1 समस्त सामन्त चक्र चूडामणी प्रभा मंजरी पुंज रंजित
- 2 वर चरण कमल युगल⁶सकल कलिगाधिपति⁷गंगामल
- 3 कुल⁸तिलक⁹महा राजा धिराज परमेश्वर¹⁰मातापितृपा
- 4 दानुध्याता¹¹नय विनय दया दान दाक्षिण्य¹²सौर्योदार्य
- 5 सत्य त्यागादि गुण संपदा धार भूत¹³श्री कामार्णव दे
- 6 वः अभूत तदनन्तरेण तस्य सूनु¹⁴विपुल विक्रमांजता
- 7 नेक भूपालमौलि मणि मरीची रंजित पाद पद्म
- 8 युगल¹⁵सुर सरि दाशा बहि मुख व्यापि प्रताप¹⁶सुर सं
- 9 सरित्कुलामल सकल माहाराज तिलक¹⁷मक

From the original plates: [Facsimilies of plates will be published in the next part of the journal. Ed]

(1) Read—दविरत (2) The reading of the plate is दुर्द्दण्ड It should be—दोर्द्दण्ड Ed.

(3) Read तापमा Ed. (4) Readप्रणामद्विगत Ed. (5) Plates have got श्रव

(6) Read युगल; (Ed) (7) Read पति (8) Read तिलक; (Ed)

(9) Read महा— (10) Read परमेश्वर; (Ed) (11) Read ध्यात; (Ed)

(12) Read शौर्य (13) Read भूत; (Ed) (14) Read सूनु; (Ed) (15)

Read युगल; (16) Read प्रताप; (17) Read तिलक;

2nd plate; 2nd side.

- 1 र राज मिव वीर्य मूर्जित श्री मद्रज्जहस्तदेव ¹⁸ रंदुमर विषये
- 2 तण्डमिसोक मुट्टरिल मुष्पक विषये पौंदुरुतल चेवु
- 3 चिळ्ळमुगार जन्दिरां वरकट्ट विषये वरावतं ताः ¹⁹अध्येग्राम
- 4 निवासिनः कुटुंबिनः समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां
- 5 इमं ²⁰ग्रामा श्रुतु ²¹शीमावच्छिन्न जल स्थल सर्व बाध ²²वर्जि
- 6 त ²³अचट ²⁴भट ²⁵अप्रवेश ²⁶याव ²⁷चंद्रार्क क्षिति सम कालं माता
- 7 पितो रात्मनश्च पुन्या युर्यशोभिः ²⁸वृद्धये आयु वंश माला विज
- 8 यवतः कंतकटे प्रतम्युको स्वाशिधारकः स्वाम्याज्ञया तदरिं नि
- 9 हत्य बालि नायका मिधानो रणे त्यगमत् ²⁹अत स्तस्य सूनु दी
- 10 नानाथ भरणम्च ³⁰ ³¹ममाहापराक्रमवतः स्वजनवच्छलतस्मै ³²ताम्ब्र

3rd plate; 1st side.

- 1 सासनी ³³कृत्वा उदक पूर्वं कल्पेन्वय इतन नायक पुत्र गण्ड ना
- 2 ओ राकासंसोक मुट्टरिलिमु पौंदुरु तलचेवु चिरिलिमु वरा
- 3 वतण्डिमि गाररिंदे एते ग्रामान मंसदत्त इति इदानी
- 4 शीमा ³⁴लिंगानि लिख्यन्ते पौंदुरु ग्रामस्य ईशान्य भागे नानि
- 5 य क्रौच वर विमन वण्डक मध्ये तल पाषाण ³⁵शीम ³⁶संधि
- 6 अस्य ग्रामस्य पूर्वतः नीमियतलंकरशयि ³⁷सीम ³⁸अतः आ
- 7 ग्रैय भागे नोमिमुष्पक लिक्कट तल कल्बरायि शीम संधि

(18) Read as रौंदुमर

(19) Read as मध्ये (Ed)

(20) Read as इमे

(21) Read as इशीमा (Ed)

(22) Read as बाधा

(23) Read as ता (Ed)

(24) Plate reads as अचट्ट (Ed)

(25) Plate reads as भट्ट (Ed)

(26) Read as प्रवेश्याः (Ed)

(27) Read as चंद्रार्क (Ed)

(28) Drop the Visarga (Ed)

(29) The letters मग are omitted by the scribe.

(30) Read भरणस्य

(31) This letter is unnecessary (Ed)

(32) Read ताम्र

(33) Read शासनी

(34) Read सीमा (Ed)

(35) Read सीमा (Ed)

(36) Read संधिः (Ed)

(37) Read लंकरायि

(38) Read सीमा

- 8 तस्य ग्रामस्य दक्षिणभागे हन्मंगरिरके ततः आभात्यम्परि
- 9 गनुमः अतः^{१०} वरात ग्रामस्य नैरित्या दिशा भागे रूपिवरर्मे
- 10 टवरज कृष्ण पर्वतः अस्य पश्चिमतः मल्लु मेट वजरा

3rd plate; 2nd side.

- 1 वर लिक्कूट तल रेगटिप^{४०} नाम वन राजिकाः एतेषां ग्रामाणां वा
- 2 यव्यतः मल्लु इलिन्दिय पर्वत लिक्कूट मीमः उत्तरतः उल्लुबुट^{४१} डुंड
- 3 कि पर्वतेश्वर^{४२} चलाह श्रौग्रामाः सीमा संधि वोंगत्ता इयंशीमान्य व्यवस्था स्थितः
- 4 अतः प्रस्वस्ति सहित श्री कामार्णव देवस्य पुत्र श्री वज्रहस्त देव को
- 5 नकह त्रिशमध्मे बालिनायकस्य पुत्र कत्व पेन्वय इतना नायकाम
- 6 जांव ग्राम संप्रदत्त इति अस्य सीमानि लिख्यंते ईशान्य भागे बाह
- 7 ल्लु तल पूर्वोण कदंब सह वाल्मीक मुनि सदेक आग्नेय भागे निवा
- 8 वाल्मीक पुनः कविथत वाल्मीकः दक्षिणे लिक्कूटः तल कदंब वृक्षाः नौरुत्य
भागे वउ
- 9 काद वृक्षः चपट पापाणः पश्चिमतः वन राजिकाः अतः वायव्य दिशा
- 10 पर्वतः तल उत्तरतः जांव गर्ता पुनः तिलिणीक पंक्तिः इमं
- 11 शीमा व्यवस्था स्थितः अल व्यास वचनाः

4th plate; 1st side.

- 1 बहुभि र्वमुधा दत्ता राजाभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य
- 2 तदा फलं स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्ठि वर्ष सहस्रा
- 3 णि विष्टयां जायते कृमिः तयस्त्रिंशति केलका एव शासन मागतां
- 4 योनपालं फलारता आवीचि नरके व्रजेत् तस्य गंगान्वय प्रवर्ध
- 5 मान विजय राज्य संवत्सर शत १०० अंकेनापि आषाढ मास
- 6 दिन आदित्य वारे लिखितं शामपुन संधि विग्रहिना एतत्
- 7 लिखित मक्षशालि खानीजुना इति ॥

(39) Plate reads वरातंग्रामः From line 3 of plate 2nd side it is clear that the name of the village is वरावतं (Ed)

(40) Plates have got रेगरिप (Ed) (41) Plates read उंड (Ed)

(42) Plate seems to have चुनुश्चौ (Ed)

[On page 24, in the last para, the name of the donee has been wrongly printed as Hana Nayaka for Itana Nayaka. Ed.]

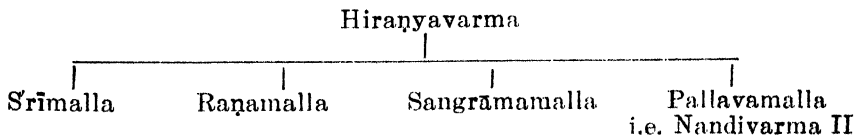
SUCCESSORS OF PARAMESVARAVARMA II.

Govinda Pai

In the Velūrpālaiyam plates¹⁵⁸ we are told that, after Paramēśvaravarma II, Nandivarma II sat on the Pallava throne; and from the Kāśākūḍi plates we learn that at the time when they were drawn up Nandivarma II, also called Nandipōtarāja as well as Pallavamalla, having been already chosen as king by the subjects,¹⁵⁹ was ruling over the kingdom of Paramēśvaravarma II *alias* Paramēśvarapōtarāja.¹⁶⁰ A graphic account of how this Pallavamalla *alias* Nandivarma II came to sit on the Pallava throne is given in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription.¹⁶¹ In his Pattattalmangalam grant¹⁶² Nandivarma II is said to have received the charge of the kingdom while he was yet young; and this is confirmed by the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription according to which he was merely 12 years of age when he became the ruler of the Pallava dominions.¹⁶³

With respect to his place in the Pallava genealogy, we have the following information from his own inscriptions:—

(1) From the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription we have—



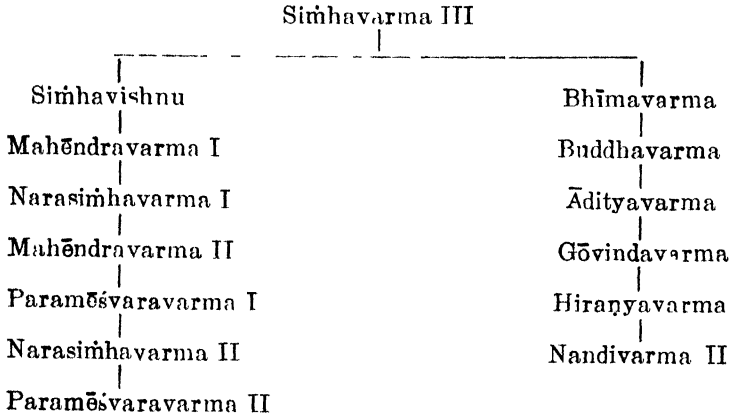
- 158 बभूवपरमेश्वरः..... तदनन्तरमन्वयस्य लक्ष्मी..... समवापदशेषपूर्व भू
भूदुण सम्मेळनधाम नन्दिवर्मा || (vv. 14-15. S. I. I.-II. pp. 501-17)
- 159 'वृत्तः प्रजाभिः' (S. I. I.-II. pp. 342-61; l. 63)
- 160 'तेन राजाधिराज परमेश्वरेण परमेश्वर पोतराज पदप्रशासनपरेण (l. 72)
पल्लवमल्लेन (l. 78) नन्दिवर्मा नाम्ना (l. 79) श्री नन्दिपोत
राजेन (l. 90) (Ibid)
- 161 E. I. (XVIII. p. 117)
- 162 Ibid (p. 121) — 'आद्यत्त प्रथितबलो युवैव राज्यम्' (ll 13-14)
- 163 Ibid (p. 117)

(2) In his Taṇḍantōttam plates,¹⁶⁴ Pattattalmangalam plates¹⁶⁵ as well as the Koṭrankuḍi plates,¹⁶⁶ he calls himself the son of Hiraṇya-varma.

(3) His Kuśākudī plates, in which he is called 'Hiraṇya' i.e., the son of Hiraṇya(-varma) as well as 'Bhīmavarḡya' i.e., belonging to the branch of Bhīma(-varma),¹⁶⁷ exhibit his descent and his relationship with Paramēśvaravarma as follows—

His 6th ancestor was Bhīmavarma, who was the younger brother (अनुजः) of the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu and was loyal to his master (अनुपतिः) i.e., the king Simhaviṣṇu;¹⁶⁸ his 5th ancestor was Buddhavarma, 4th ancestor Ādityavarma, 3rd ancestor Gōvindavarma, and his 2nd ancestor (i.e., his father himself) was Hiraṇya(-varma), whose wife was Rōhinī, and their son was the king Nandivarma II.¹⁶⁷

It would thus appear that his filiation with Simhaviṣṇu would be—



164 S. I. I. (II. p. 517-35) 'हिरण्यवर्मा नन्दिवर्मेति नाम्ना जातस्तस्मात्' (VV. 1-2.)

165 E. I (XVIII. p. 121; ll. 12-13)– आमीत्तल हिरण्यवर्मा नृपतिर्भूपाल भर्ता ततः सर्वक्षलकिरीट धृष्टचरणः श्री नन्दिवर्माऽभवत् ॥ (ततः = From that + king; अभवत् = sprang)

166 Mythic Society's Journal (XIV no 2; p. 127)–Exactly the same words as in the Pattattalmangalam plates.

167 हैरण्यो भीम (भैम ?) वर्म्यो शेहिणीजः .. नन्दिवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥ (II. 70-71)

168 'षष्ठः श्री सिंहविष्णोरनुपतिरनुजः प्राभवद्भीमवर्मा । (I. 64)

and Nandivarma II would then be the paternal *uncle* of his predecessor Paramēśvaravarma II; and this is how their mutual relationship seems to have been accepted by the scholars. But this cannot be correct for in his own Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates,¹⁶⁹ Nandivarma II calls himself the *son* of Paramēśvaravarma II. Knowing as we do from his Vairakūṭha Perumāḷ temple inscription as well as from his Tandantōttam, Pattattalmangalam, Kotrānkudi and Kāsākudi plates that Nandivarma II was the son of Hiranyavarma and Rōhini, this statement of his Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates would be hardly sensible unless it means, and only means, that he stood in the relationship of a *son* to his predecessor Paramēśvaravarma II, and the only possible conclusion thence is that Nandivarma II was a *nephew* (i.e. brother's son) of Paramēśvaravarma II, or in other words his father Hiranyavarma was a cousin brother of Paramēśvaravarma II. ¹

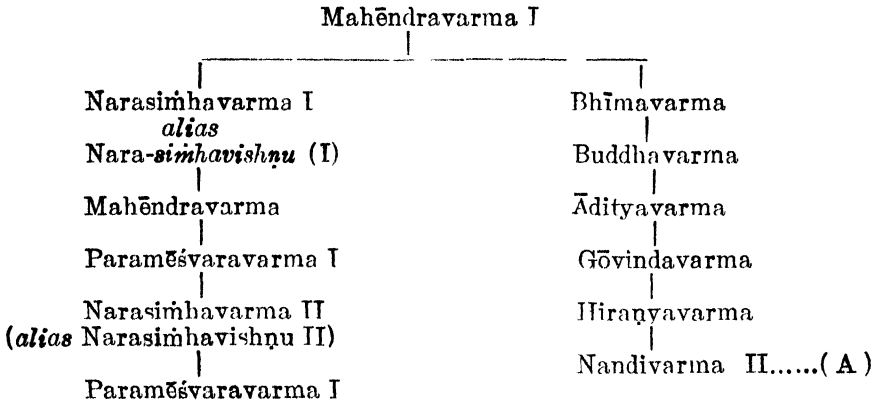
Now in the Kāsākudi plates the filiation of Nandivarma II to the senior branch is exhibited by only 6 steps from Bhīmavarma to himself and it is certain that there were only as many and no further steps, as in case there were any more, the same would have been duly mentioned. Bhīmavarma therefore will have to be brought down 2 steps lower than where he has been hitherto placed in the Pallava genealogy, when he would be the younger brother of Narasimhavarma I, and not of Simhaviṣṇu. But was Narasimhavarma I also called Simhaviṣṇu? Yes. In this Bādāmi rock inscription, Narasimhavarma is called *Narasimhaviṣṇu*,¹⁷⁰ which name again actually occurs as a variant of the name of his namesake and great-grandson Narasimhavarma II in Rangapataka's inscription.¹⁷¹ There can be no doubt then that Narasimhaviṣṇu was another form of Narasimhavarma I, and the same

169 'सिंहविष्णोरपि महेन्द्रवर्मा (I). तस्मात्. ... नरसिंहवर्मा (I), तस्य पुत्रः पुनरेव महेन्द्रवर्मा (II), ततः... परमेश्वरवर्मा (I)' तस्मात्.....नरसिंहवर्मा (II)' तस्य.....परमेश्वरवर्मा (II), तस्य परमेश्वरवर्मणः पुत्रो....नन्दिवर्मा (II), पतिः पल्लवानाम्॥' (S. I. I-II. PP. 365-74; LL. 13-31)

170 I. A. (IX, P. 99); F. K. D. (pp. 328-29); Report on S. I. Epigraphy 1929 (App. E. p. 48; No. 100)

171 S. I. I. (I. p. 22)
F 5

has been abbreviated *metris causa* into *Simhavishṇu*¹⁷² in the Kaśakūḍi plates, where therefore this name Simhavishṇu stands for Narasimhavarma I. Bhīmavarma, the 6th ancestor of Nandivarma II, would accordingly be the younger brother of Narasimhavarma I *alias* Nara-*Simhavishṇu*, and descent from their father Mahēndravarma I onwards would then be—



and Nandivarma II would stand in the relationship of a *son* to his predecessor Paramēśvaravarma II, exactly as is said in his Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates.¹⁷³

172 In the Bāhūr plates (E.L.—XVIII, pp. 9-12) the name of Pallava King Nṛpatungavarma (Il. 74) *alias* Vijaya-Nṛpatungavarma (Il 45 46) is found shortened under metrical necessity into *Tungavarma* (l 42).

173 In the Pallava genealogy, (notes p. 13, & chart 2) of Rev. Heras, Mahēndravarma II and Paramēśvaravarma I have been taken as brothers, and not as father and son, with the result that Nandivarma II becomes a younger brother of Paramēśvaravarma II. It may be said once for all that it is only one's own son or nephew that would be called one's son, whereas one's younger brother would not be called as such. Now working backwards from this relationship of a son in which Nandivarma II stood to Paramēśvaravarma II, we arrive at the only possible conclusion that Mahēndravarma II and Paramēśvaravarma I were, and must be, father and son, and could never be brothers.

Next from the Vēlūrpalaiyam plates (ll. 21-29), we have the following genealogy from Nandivarma, who was the immediate successor of Paramēśvaravarma II, i.e., Nandivarma II—

Nandivarma II + Queen Rēvā
 |
 Dantivarma + Kadamba princess
 | Aggalanimmaḍi
 Nandivarma III... (B)

And from the Bāhūr plates,¹⁷⁴ we have—

Dantivarma
 |
 Nandivarma + Rāshtrakūṭa princess
 | Śankhā
 Nṛpatungavarma
alias Vijaya-Nṛpatungavarma
alias Tungavarma (C)

It therefore goes without saying that the Dantivarma of (B) is identical with his name-sake of (C), when we at once obtain—

Nandivarma II
 |
 Dantivarma
 |
 Nandivarma II
 |
 Nṛpatungavarma... (D)

The Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śankhā, who was the queen of Nandivarma III and the mother of Nṛpatungavarma, was in all probability the daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa king Nṛpatunga—Amōghavarsha I (814-877 A.C.), as is patent from the name Nṛpatunga which her son bore evidently after his maternal grandfather.

In the '*Mahāvamśa*' we are told that the Ganga king Prithivīpati effected an alliance with the Pallava king Nṛpatunga, and the allies attacked the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in a battle that was fought

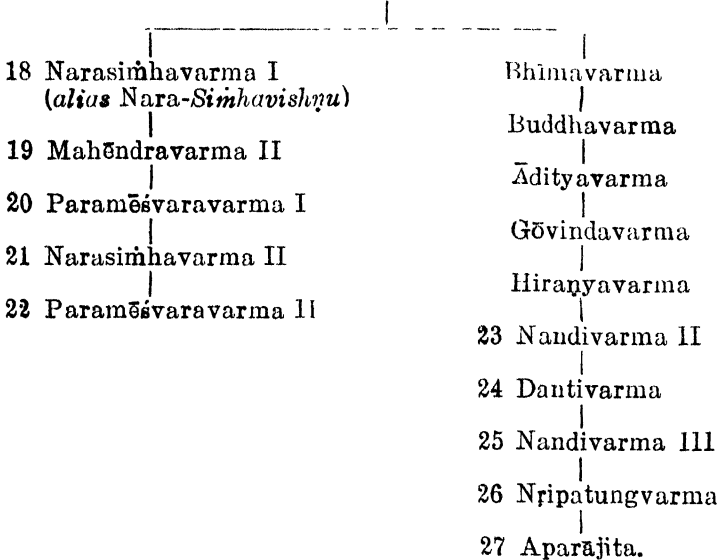
at Sripurambiyam or Tirupurambiyam (close to Kumbakōṇam) in which the Pallava forces were led by the Crown-prince Aparājita.¹⁷⁵ We further know from the Chōḷa records that the Chōḷa king Āditya I or Ādityavarma *alias* Kōṇḍarāma completely crushed the Pallava king Aparājita, who, according to the Aṇbil Grant, is said to have been killed in that war,¹⁷⁶ whereupon his territory was annexed and the Pallava ascendancy was brought to an end.¹⁷⁷ This gives us one more step, and that is the last, in the Pallava Genealogy—

Nripatungavarma

|
Aparājita... (E)

Consolidating A, D, and E, the Pallava genealogy from Mahēndravarma I down to Aparājita would be—

17. Mahēndravarma I



¹⁷⁵ H. I. S. I. (pp. 36-37)

¹⁷⁶ This fact has also been repeated in the Kanyākumāri inscription of Virarājendra (E. I.-XVIII. p. 42)—आदित्यवर्मा भवदस्य पुत्रः कोदण्डरामाभिधया प्रसिद्धः। उल्लुत्य मत्तद्विरदेन्द्र संस्थञ्जवान यः पल्लवराजमाजौ॥ (ll. 283-7)

¹⁷⁷ H.I.S.I. (pp. 39; 375-6).

The chronological facts, so far known with respect to the Pallava kings from Nandivarma II to Aparajita, are as follows—

I. Nandivarma II

(1) The Tanjore chief Perumbidugu-Muttaraiyan, who had been a vassal of the Pallava king Paramēśvara(-pota-)varma II is said to have travelled from Tanjore to Kāñchi to meet the newly-installed king, who thus would most certainly be Nandivarma II and no other; and this event has been ascribed to 717 A.C.¹⁷⁸ I do not know on what grounds this date has been arrived at. So I shall take it as it is. In case it is correct, the accession of Nandivarma II will have to be allotted to 717 A.C., itself, or placed at most a year earlier.

(2) As we have already seen, the Vakkalōri plates¹⁷⁹ issued in S. S. 679 (i.e. 757) the 11th regnal year of Chālukya king Kirtivarma II, claim that his father Vikramāditya II soon after his coronation invaded the Pallava kingdom and defeated the Pallava king Nandivarma II, who was his 'natural enemy'; and as we know that Vikramāditya II ascended the throne in 733-34 A.C., this event may be assigned to *circa* 735-36 A.C. or a little later.

(3) In the same plates we are also told that the same Pallava was again defeated by Kirtivarma II, who was then a crown-prince and had been deputed for the purpose by his father Vikramāditya II; and as we know from these plates that Kirtivarma II ascended the throne in 746-47 A.C., this event may be assigned to about the end of his father's reign, i.e., to *circa* 744-45 A.C. or a little earlier.

(4) In the Vēlvikuḍi grant issued in the 3rd regnal year of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parāntaka, and decided to belong to the year 769-70 A.C.,¹⁸⁰ the said Pāṇḍya is stated to have defeated the Kāḍava i.e. the Pallava king Nandivarma II and Pennāgaḍam on the south bank of the river Kāvēri.

(5) Some of the regnal years of Nandivarma II are thus known from the following inscriptions—(i) the Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates are dated in his 21st year (l. 38); (ii) the Kaṣākuḍi plates are dated in his

178 Ibid (pp. 394 & 27).

179 E.C. X. (Kl. 63).

180 *HLS.I, (p. 30)*

22nd year (l. 80); (iii) the inscription on the rock at Pañchapaṇḍaya-matai is dated in his 50th year¹⁸¹ (iv) the Tandantottam plates are dated in his 58th year (l. 27; (v) the Koṭṭrankuḍi as well as the Pattattalmangalam plates (ll. 22-23) are dated in his 61st year; and (vi) the Varāha-Perumāḷ cave inscription is dated in his 65th year.¹⁸² To be sure then he had an unusually long reign of at least 65 years, and possibly he may have reigned yet a little longer.

(6) In the Maṇṇe plates of the Gaṅga crown-prince Mārasimha dated Monday the 19th June 797 A.C.,¹⁸³ as well as in the Alūr plates¹⁸⁴ issued in the 4th year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship¹⁸⁵ and dated Monday the 22nd July 799 A.C., the anointment of his father Sivamāra II is stated to have been performed with their own hands by the ornaments of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Pallava families, the crowned (kings) called Gōvinda-rāja and Nandivarma, whose (own) anointments to (their respective) kingdoms had already been performed.¹⁸⁶ Without doubt then the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvindarāja spoken of here is the Rāshtrakūṭa king

181 Ibid (p. 29).

182 E.I. (XVIII, p. 118).

183 E. C IX. (Nl. 60) The date details of these plates—S. S. 719, *Ashadha Sukla* 5 *Somavāra*—do not admit of a correct verification; wherefore either the name of the week-day 'Soma' (Monday) is a mistake for 'Saumya' (Wednesday) in which case the corresponding date would be Wednesday the 15th June 795 A.C.; or the name of the fortnight *Sukla* (bright fortnight) has been mis-engraved for 'bhūla' (dark fortnight) in which case the equivalent date is Monday the 19th June 797 A.C. I have adopted the latter view, as the result corresponds correctly to the Saka year.

184 M.A.R. 1924 (pp. 72-76). The date of details are—S.S. 721, Monday, the full-moon day of *Śravana*, with *Dhanishta nakshatra* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse; and there was a lunar eclipse on the previous night.

185 'युवराज मारसिंह.....आत्मनः प्रवर्द्धमानं संवत्सरेषु त्रिषु समतीनेषु' (Ibid. p. 75.)

186 राष्ट्रकूट पल्लवान्वय तिलकाभ्यां मूर्द्धाभिषिक्त गोविन्दराज नन्दिवर्माभ्यां समनुष्ठित राज्याभिषेकाभ्यां निजकरघटित पट्टविभूषित ललाटपट्टो विख्यात विमल गङ्गान्वय नमस्थल गमस्तिमाली.....श्री शिवमारदेवः॥ (Ibid. p. 74; ll. 63-66)

Gōvinda III, and the Pallava Nandivarman is the Pallava king Nandivarman II.¹⁸⁷

Now it is certain that the Rashtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III ascended the throne in 791 A.C. (*Vide App. C*). In the Badanaguppe grant¹⁸⁸ of prince Kambhadēva of Rashtrakūṭa dynasty, Govinda III is said to have been most merciful to the Ganga king Śivamāra II, whom he released from the misery of chains, i.e. from the imprisonment in which he had been long kept by Gōvinda III's father Dhōra.¹⁸⁹ As might be expected, this act of mercy would be done by Gōvinda III as soon as he came to the throne, possibly perhaps within a few days after his coronation, and accordingly the release of Śivamāra II may be assigned to 791 A.C. Now the Alūr plates of 799 A.C. are dated in 4th year (current) of the *Yuvārāja*-ship of Mārasimha, whence it would appear that he was nominated *Yuvārāja* by his father Śivamāra II in 796 A.C. Naturally enough this nomination would be made only sometime after the coronation of Śivamāra II himself, wherefore that event may be rightly assigned to 792 A.C. or in other words it was in the year 792 A.C. that the anointment of Śivamāra was performed by kings Gōvinda III and Nandivarman II, whence it would follow that Nandivarman II was still living and ruling as king in the year 792 A.C.

Now we are told that it was in the year 717 A.C. that Muttaraiyan proceeded to Kāñchi to meet the newly-installed king Nandivarman II,¹⁹⁰ whose installation therefore must have been either still

187 It has been suggested (H.I.S.I.-p. 33) that the Nandivarman "who anointed 'with his own hands' Śivamāra II may have been the prince Nandivarman, who afterwards reigned as Nandivarman III, deputed for the purpose by his father Nandivarman then on the throne." But this is quite inadmissible, in that the Nandivarman as well as Gōvinda, who performed the anointment of Śivamāra II are described in the clearest terms as those *crowned kings whose own anointments to their respective kingdoms had already been duly performed* and it need hardly be said that no prince nor even the crown-prince, would ever be described in such terms. Further it is only a crowned king (i.e. one whose anointment has already been performed) that has the right to anoint another to his kingdom, and that 'right no prince could exercise even as a proxy.

188 M. A. R. 1927—येनात्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगळकेशा दयास्थानतम्.....गंगम्, (p. 113; l. 30). This grant is dated 'Monday the 6th November 808 A.C. in the reign of Govinda III' (p. 114; ll. 43-55). It may be noted that in mentioning the number of years in S.S. the words denoting the proper century have been omitted perhaps due to the inadvertence of the composer or the engraver.

189 Ibid (p. 112; ll. 11-12).

190 H.I.S.I. (pp. 394; 27)

going on or just over at that time, whence it would follow that Nandivarma II was crowned king in 717 A.C. Supposing then Nandivarma II to have died soon after he performed the anointment of Śivamāra II in 792 A.C., if the date 717 A.C. to which his own coronation has thus been ascribed is correct, he would appear to have had a reign of 75 or 76 years, which, if not impossible, is more or less incredible. It is not likely therefore that Nandivarma II was crowned in 717 A.C. Accordingly his accession will have to be placed at least some 5 or 6 years later.

From the statement in the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple inscription—

“After the death of Paramēśvaravarma II, a deputation consisting of the *Mūtras*, the *Mūlaprakritis*, and the *ghatakayas* waited on Hiraṇyavarma-Mahārāja and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler and requested him to grant them a sovereign”—¹⁹¹ it would appear that possibly there was an interregnum at Kāñchi, though perhaps of a short duration of, say, not exceeding 5 years between the death of Paramēśvaravarma II and the installation of Nandivarma II. Perhaps Paramēśvaravarma II died without issue; and the fact that a Pallava prince Chitramāya, who was evidently a claimant to the Pallava throne and had taken refuge with the Dramila kings, i.e., perhaps the contemporary Chōla or the Pāṇḍya kings, was conquered along with them by Udayachandra, a military officer of Nandivarma II, as recorded in the latter's Udayāndiram (No. 2) plates of his 21st regnal year,¹⁹² suffices to prove that, if at so late a date in his reign there was yet a prince trying to seize the Pallava throne with the help of his enemies, there must be many more, who on the death of Paramēśvaravarma II would be fighting among themselves for its possession. This state of affairs must have continued for some years, and the Pallava kingdom as well as the capital must have been harassed for some time before the nobles and the officers of the kingdom would feel compelled to take the necessary steps to put an end to that anarchy and wait in a deputation on Hiraṇyavarma to grant them a king. We have already assigned the death of Paramēśvaravarma II approximately to 720 A.C. Assuming therefore that the interregnum subsequent to his death lasted from 720 to 725 A.C., we would place the installation of his successor Nandivarma II in 725 A.C., and allowing him a reign of 68 years, we would allot his death to 793 A.C., when he would be 80 or 81 years of age, as in the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple inscription he is to be 12 years of age when he became king.¹⁹³

191 E.I. (XVIII. p. 117)

192 S.I.I. (II. pp. 363-74; II. 46-50)

193 E.I. (XVIII. p. 118)

II. Dantivarma.

(1) In one of the copper-plate grants of Rashtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Thursday the 16th March 803 A. C.,¹⁹⁴ he claims to have conquered Dantiga, the king of Kāñchi, who has been rightly identified with Dantivarma and who, by the way, is the only one king of that name in the whole of the Pallava genealogy.

(2) An inscription at Guḍimallam is dated in the 49th year of the Pallava king Dantivarma, also called Dantivikrama.¹⁹⁵

Accordingly he may be allowed a reign of 50 years, when his regnal period would be 793-843 A.C.

III. Nandivarma III

(1) The Śeṇṇivaykkal stone inscription purports to be dated in the 21st year of the reign of Nandippōttaraiyar 'who, after gaining a victory in the battle of Tellāru, obtained a kingdom',¹⁹⁶ and there is an old Tamil poem, which says that the Pallava king Nandivarma III fought battles at Tellar (in South Arcot), whence he derived his title 'Tellārreṇḍa', and also at other places.¹⁹⁷ He is also mentioned as Tellārreṇḍa Nandippōttaraiyer in an inscription in the Śaḍaiyar temple at Tiruchcheṇṇampūṇḍi dated in the 18th year of his reign.¹⁹⁸

194 F.K.D. (pp. 397-8). The date details—S.S. 726, *Subhanu Samvatsara*, *Thursday*, the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Vaisakha*—do not admit of a verification according to the *Amanta* arrangement of the fortnights either for the year 803 A.C. (which was *Subhanu* according to the southern system) or for 804 A.C. (which was *Subhamu* according to the northern system). By the *Purnimanta* arrangement, however, the *tithi* and the week-day are brought together in the year 803 A.C. (i.e. southern *Subhamu*) and the equivalent English date is *Thursday* the 16th March 803 A.C. By the same arrangement the corresponding English date for the said *tithi* 804 A.C. would be *Wednesday* the 3rd April 804 A.C. (and not *Thursday* the 4th April 804 A.C., as given by Dr. Fleet), which, however, is inadmissible as it gives a wrong week-day.

195 H.I.S.I. (p. 34).

196 Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy 1929 (p. 65).

197 H.I.S.I. (p. 34).

198 Madras Epigr. Report 1901 (p. 27 No. 283).

(2) An inscription at Tiruvallam refers under the title of Baṇamahādēvi to Kundavvai, wife of the Baṇa chief Baṇavidyādhara *alias* Vikramāditya I, and is dated in the 23rd year of his suzerain the Pallava king Nandivarma III.¹⁹⁹

Nandivarma III may therefore be allowed a reign of 25 years from 843 to 868 A.C.

IV. Nṛpatungavarma.

(1) His Bahūr plates are dated in his 8th regnal year.²⁰⁰

(2) We have already seen that the Ganga king Pṛthivīpati effected an alliance with this Pallava king Nṛpatungavarma, and the allies attacked the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa in a battle that was fought at Śrīpurambiyam, which ended in the defeat of that Pāṇḍya and in which the Pallava forces were led by the crown-prince Aparājita; and this event has been assigned to about 877-78 A.C.²⁰¹

(3) An inscription at Guḍimallam of the Baṇa chief Vaṇavidyādhara *alias* Vikramāditya Prabhumēru I is dated in the 24th year of his suzerain the Pallava king Nṛpatungavarma.²⁰²

(4) An inscription at Ambūr is dated in the 26th year of Nṛpatungavarma.²⁰³

Nṛpatungavarma may therefore be allowed a reign of 28 years from 868 A.C. to 896 A.C.

199 H.I.S.I. (p. 36)

200 E.I. (XVIII. p. 11; II. 46 & 51).

201 H.I.S.I. (p. 37)

202 Ibid (p. 38)

203 Ibid (p. 39).

V. Aparājita.

As has been already said above, this last king of the Pallava dynasty was defeated by the Chōla king Āditya I (*circa* 880-907 A.C.). Aparājita was killed in that battle and his dominions were annexed. In the Kanyakumari plates²⁰⁴ this Aparājita, though not mentioned by name, has been called as पल्लवराज i.e. the Pallava king, wherefore he must have actually reigned as king. His defeat and death may be assigned to *circa* 900 A.C., in which case his regnal period would be 896-900 A.C.

The final genealogy of the Pallavas from Kalabhartṛi to Aparājita, with their respective and approximate regnal periods, would then be as follows:—

1. Kālabhartṛi 87-107
 2. Chūta Pallava 107-127
 3. Virakūcha 127-147
 4. Skandasishya 147-167
(*alias* Skandavarma I)
 5. Kumāravishṇu 167-200
(*alias* Sivaskandavarma)
 6. Buddhavarma 200-228
(*alias* Skandavarma II)
 7. Viravarma 228-258
 8. Skandavarma III: 258-296
- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Simhavarma I 296-315 11. Skandavarma IV 340-364 14. Nandivarma II 414-437 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Viṣṇugōpa I 315-340 12. Simhavarma II 364-389 13. Viṣṇugōpa II 389-414 15. Simhavarma III 437-472 16. Simhaviṣṇu 472-520 17. Mahēndravarma I 520-555 |
|--|---|

204 Vide FN. 152 *Supra*.

17. Mahēndravarma I 520-555

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 18. Narasimhavarma I 555-595 | Bhīmavarma |
| 19. Mahēndravarma II 595-630 | Buddhavarma |
| 20. Pāramēśvaravarma I 630-660 | Ādityavarma |
| 21. Narasimhavarma II 660-685 | Gōvindavarma |
| 22. Pāramēśvaravarma II 685-725 | Hirāṇyavarma |
| | 23. Nandivarma II 725-793 |
| | 24. Dantivarma 793-843 |
| | 25. Nandivarma III 843-868 |
| | 26. Nripatungavarma 868-896 |
| | 27. Aparājita 896-900. |
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APPENDIX C.

The passage in Jināsūna's Jaina '*Hari-vamśa*'—

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां

पातीन्द्रायुध नाम्नि कृष्णानृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम्।²⁰⁵

has so long been understood to mean that 'in S.S. 705 (i.e. 783-784 A.C.) (the king) named Indrayudha son of king Kṛishṇa was ruling in the north, and (the king, named) Śrīvallabha was reigning over the south'; and the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III is known to have been spoken of by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in a Kararese record at Lakshmēsvara,²⁰⁶ the name Śrīvallabha occurring in this passage of *Hari-vamśa* has naturally been taken to denote Gōvinda III, who would then appear to have been on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in the year 783-84 A.C.

But the Manṇe plates²⁰⁷ of Gōvinda III himself, issued when 18 years of his victorious reign had already gone by i.e. in his 19th regnal year, contain these date details—S.S. 732, *Monday* the fullmoon day of the month *Paushya*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the moon being in conjunction with Pushya *nakshatra*. In the two successive years 809 A.C. and 810 A.C. there were 3 lunar eclipses on the specified lunar days of *Paushya* full-moon, the equivalent English dates whereof are as follows—(1) Friday the 5th January 809 A.C. (eclipse on the previous night of Thursday the 4th January), (2) Tuesday the 25th December 809 A.C. (eclipse on the previous night of *Monday* the 24th December), and (3) Saturday the 14th December 810 A.C. (eclipse on the same night). Of these the 1st and the 3rd eclipses are easily disposed of as neither of them occurred on *Monday* and obviously therefore it is the eclipse that took place on the night of *Monday the 24th December 809 A.C.*, that has been referred to in these plates. The specified lunar *tithi* of full-moon day lasted from about 14 hours 24 minutes after mean sunrise on *Monday the 24th December* to about 13 hours 56 minutes after mean sunrise on the next day (i.e. *Tuesday the 25th December*), whence it is apparent that the grant in question was made on the night of *Monday the 24th December* either during the course of

205 'Jaina-Siddhanta Bhaskara' (Vol. I, Pts. 2-3; p. 74).

206 F.K.D. (pp. 394-95).

207 Mythic Society's Journal (XIV. no 2. p. 88; ll. B. 5-7)— द्वाविंशदुत्तरेषुसप्तशतेषु

शकवर्षेषु समतीतेषु आत्मानः प्रवर्द्धमान विजयसंवत्सरेष्वष्टादशसु समतीतेषु पौष मास पौर्णमास्यां सोमग्रहणे सोमवारं पुष्य नक्षत्रे ।

that eclipse or soon after its close, and the said plates were issued perhaps at the same time. Accordingly 809 A.C. would be the 19th year of his reign, whence it would at once follow that Gōvinda III ascended the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in the year 791 A.C.

This would mean that the Śrīvallabha mentioned in the above passage of *Hari-vamśa* could never be Gōvinda III as has been hitherto believed. Who else was he then? Connecting the words 'कृष्णनृपजे' (the son of king Kṛishṇa) with the immediately following name 'श्रीवल्लभे' (Śrīvallabha), as they really ought to be connected the meaning of the passage would be that '(the king) called Indrāyudha was ruling in the north and (the king called) Śrīvallabha, the son, of king Kṛishṇa, was reigning over the south', when this Śrīvallabha would at once appear to be perhaps Gōvinda III's father *Dhārāvarsha* Kalivallabha Nirupama Dhruva, better known also as Dhōra, who was furthermore the son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I. But was this Dhōra also known as Śrīvallabha? Yes. In the Badanaguppe grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kambhadēva,²⁰⁸ dated Monday the 6th November 808 A.C. in the reign of Gōvinda III, this king Dhōra is not only spoken of as 'Nirupama Kalivallabha', but in a subsequent passage in the same in which his son and the then reigning king Gōvinda III is spoken of as 'the son of Maharājadhirāja *Dhārāvarsha Śrīvallabha*',²⁰⁹ Dhōra is unequivocally mentioned also by another biruda *Śrīvallabha*, whence it is manifest that he was also known as *Śrīvallabha*. Thus then the king Śrīvallabha mentioned in the above passage of *Hari-vamśa* as having been reigning over the south in the year 783-84 A.C. is unquestionably Gōvinda III's father and predecessor Nirupama Dhruva *alias* Dhōra, and never his son and successor Gōvinda III, who, as has been so expressly stated in his own Maṇṇe plates, came to the throne only in 791 A.C.

(Concluded).

208 M A.R. 1927 (pp. 112-115) (Vide FN. 188 *supra*.)

209 Ibid.—'निरुपमः कलिवल्लभोभूत्' (p. 133; l. 19); 'महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर पृथिवी वल्लभ प्रभूतवर्ष श्रीमत् गोविन्दराजदेवः धारावर्ष श्रीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराजस्य पुत्रः' (p. 144; ll. 50-51)

THE MEGHAS OF KOSALA.

V. APPA RAO

The Mēghas were an ancient dynasty of kings who ruled over the Kōsala Country. They are mentioned in the Puraṇas along with various other dynasties. A few of their inscriptions on stone have also been found. In *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVIII, page 158, two inscriptions of these Mēghas were edited by Mr. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, M. A. The kings mentioned in these two inscriptions are (1) Sri Śiva Mēgha and (2) Sri Bhadra Mēgha. Mr. Daya Ram Sahni writing about the former says as follows: "This prince is not yet known from any other source and it is impossible to say to what dynasty he belonged"; and about the latter he states: "The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name of the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler's name in the preceding paragraph has been read as Bhadra Mēgha.....Śiva Mēgha mentioned in the previous record and Bhadra Mēgha mentioned in the present record presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at present know no more."

Pargiter in his 'Dynasties of the Kali age' treats this dynasty under the heading 'Dynasties of the 3rd century A. D.' at page 50. The passage concerning it occurs after the verses dealing with the Bahlikās, Mahishās, Pushyamitrās, Patumitras and the Mēkalas. The text according to the Vāyu and the Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas, concerning these Mēghas is as follows:—

1 कोसलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः
मेघ इति समख्याताः बुद्धि मंतो नवैवतु¹

The Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa have the following brief notice of this dynasty:

“कोसलायांतु नवैवभूतयो भविष्यन्ति”

Here we find that the name of the dynasty is not stated. But this dynasty is mentioned in both cases after the Mēkalas. Thus it is

evident from the context that the nine kings of Kōsala mentioned by the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata Purānas are no other than the 'nine wise and powerful kings' belonging to the Mēgha dynasty, mentioned by the Vāyu and Brahmaṇḍa Purānas.

Date of this Dynasty.

One of the two inscriptions published in Ep. Ind. Vol. 18 page 158 contains the year 82 in an era which is not specified. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni suggests with hesitancy whether it may not be the Gupta era. Surely, we submit it cannot be that. On palaeographical grounds alone, the above inscriptions cannot be assigned to the very late date of the later half of the 5th century A. D. of the various local dynasties detailed after the Andhras in the Puranic account, the Śrī Parvatīya Āndhras come first. We have the authority of the following passage that they were contemporaneous with the Imperial Andhras:

“आंध्राणां संस्थिते राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वया नृपाः
सप्तैवांध्रा भविष्यन्ति....”

The word 'संस्थिते' clearly indicates that the subordinate Andhras began their rule while the Great Andhra Empire was still flourishing. Then we have got the statement that these 'seven (generations of) Andhras were contemporaneous with the seven (generations of) Kōsalas.'

“तुल्य काल इमे भूपा सप्तांध्रा सप्तकौसला”

The seven Andhras referred to in this line can be no other than the seven generations of the Śrī Parvatīyas whose inscriptions have now been un-earthed at Nāgarjunikonda.²

We have not as yet recovered the names of all these seven generations of these kings. The Śrī Parvatīya Andhra Dynasty came to an end by A. D. 220. As the Śrī Parvatīyas or Ikshvākus are contemporaneous with the Kōsalas or Mēghas we can safely assign them to the same period. The nine generations must have ruled for about 180 years giving an average of 20 years to each reign. The dynasty must have come to an end by about A.D. 250.

REVIEWS

*"VIJAYANAGARA-ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE"

K. Iswara Dutt, B.A.

The history of the Vijayanagara Empire is one of the most fascinating periods of the South Indian History. It attracted the attention of a premier South Indian Historian at the beginning of this century. Now we find a host of South Indian Scholars, after a couple of decades, working at the various aspects of the problems connected with its history. Any amount of material is at hand for the compilation of the history of this mighty Hindu empire, which flourished for nearly three centuries, leaving behind it cultural traces, as a memento of its mighty power and a pageant of its pristine glory.

One of the knotty problems that confronts the historian, is the origin of the Empire. The problem is bewildering in its variety and baffling in its complexity. The scholars, who attempted to explore its source were not able to peer down into the labyrinth of contemporary history and later day legend and lost their way in the wilderness of conflicting evidence. The main theories that hold the field, are the Hoyasala origin propounded by Messrs. Kishnaswami Ayyangar, and Krishnasastri, the Kanarese source advocated by Sir William Hunter, Rev. Heras and Mr. Hayavadana Rao and the Andhra genesis adumbrated by Wilks, Vincent Smith, and Dr. Venkataramaniah, the author of the work under review.

Of course, the rise of an Empire, like the source of a river cannot be spotted out easily. It requires a strong imaginative lens to peer down into the wilderness of contemporary history and fiction and arrive at the correct source. Hitherto, the endeavours of the research scholars resulted only in a hazardous guess and at times in a convincing conjecture.

We presume that Dr. Venkataramaniah wants to show forth his book as a rejoinder to the "Beginnings of the Vijayanagar History" written by Rev. Heras, one of the ardent champions of the 'Kanarese origin'. Our readers may be interested to be informed, that Rev. Heras

• Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Madras University Publication—Price Rs. 2.

stumbled upon a correct conclusion from false premises, and that Dr. Venkatramaniah managed to arrive at a wrong inference from correct premises—because one wants that it should be a Kanarese origin and the other a Telugu source.

In Chapter I of Part I of the Book, the learned Doctor, discusses at length the arguments for and against the Hoyasala Theory of the origin of the Empire and dispenses with this theory, as false and cannot be sustained. The arguments set forth by the author are really sound and we believe them to be irrefutable. He simply reiterates his reasons which he already gave in his earlier work "Kampli and Vijayanagara". In Chapter II of the same part he treats about the founders of the Empire. He says that Harihara, and Bukka, inspired by the sage Vidyaranya, were founders of the Empire. It is quite unfortunate that Dr. Venkataramaniah does not give due weight to the Kapalur grant. If he could have thoroughly grasped the weight of arguments of the late lamented epigraphist, Mr. Venkiah advanced in favour of the Kapalur grant, in the Indian Antiquary Vol. 38 pages 89-91, he would not have taken to the bad rut of unnecessary and meaningless arguments. Mr. Venkiah proved that the Kapalur Copper-plate grant is palaeographically and historically an excellent piece of evidence about the foundation of the Empire. Dr. Venkataramaniah became wiser than, when he wrote "Kampli and Vijayanagara", wherein, he did not condescend even to mention the laborious advocacy of Mr. Venkiah and his great defence of this grant, though we know that Dr. Venkataramaniah is, then, quite aware of that information. However, we want to show to our readers how Dr. Venkataramaniah feels shy to look at completely this copper plate grant and assess its historical value. He says "Nevertheless, it is not improbable that Harihara I should, have built a capital for himself on the advice of Vidyaranya; nor is it unlikely that the city of Vidyanagara or Vijayanagara should have been built about 1336, for according to some inscriptions, Harihara I was ruling from Vidyanagara in 1348 A.D." In the very next sentence our friend becomes a doubting Thomas. He says "But the testimony of the Kapalur grant and the Yeragudi grants cannot be taken as a proof for the construction of the city by Harihara I in 1336 A.D. Therefore, Harihara's share in the construction of the City must remain doubtful until some evidence of a more trustworthy character turns up." It should have been more honest on the part of the author, if he had met the arguments of the late Mr. Venkiah appraising the correct historical value of the two above grants. We strongly maintain that the Kapalur and the Yeragudi plates are the two pillars on which the mighty edifice of the History of the Vijayanagar Empire should be constructed. We have not seen any South

Indian Historian, uptill now, who had refuted the arguments of Mr. Venkiah. However, Dr. Venkataramaniah believes that "Vidyaranya seems to have had some undefined connection with the foundation of the City." This is no new discovery of this South Indian Historian. Rice long ago believed it. However it is quite fortunate that Dr. Venkataramaniah pours old wine into new bottles, and helps our cause, and asserts that "it is not unlikely that they (the two brothers) sought his advice and began to construct the city after he blessed their enterprise." Now, we ask a plain and pointed question. Does he not know that, Madhava Vidyaranya is a Kanarese Brahmin by birth as instanced by the famous inscription of the Minister Lakshmidhara, compiled by "Madhura" the great Kanarese poet? We invite a reference to the South Indian Inscriptions No. 267 of Vol. IV. We ask why this illustrious Kanarese scholar, statesman and saint, fostered the cause of the two Telugu fugitives in the foundation of the Hindu Empire. Let the author of the Telugu origin of the Empire answer.

In part II of the book, the origin of the Empire was dealt at length and the author sets forth his theory of the 'Telugu Origin' of the Empire in a laborious way. One cannot feel, when one goes through these pages, that the author, like a lawyer pleading a bad case before a sleepy tribunal, wants to show an indifferent historical world, that the founders are of Telugu extraction. With reverent reluctance, we say that the author has not argued his case well. He faltered in depicting facts and failed in facing the problem squarely. The arguments advanced may command our admiration in certain cases, but the conclusions do not compel our agreement. He lost his way in pedantic wilderness, in his futile search for the source. In Chapter I, of this part, the author had some cogent arguments in dismissing the statement that the Sangama family, was related to Hoyasali-Ballalas and came to the conclusion that Ballala III had nothing to do with the affairs of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara. The author is of opinion that Kampila Deva sent Bahuddin to take shelter under Ballala III. But there is ample inscriptional evidence to demonstrate that Ballala III and Kampila were waging constant wars with each other and the author proved their mutual animosities. Then, it is beyond comprehension to believe that Kampila should have sent the unfortunate Muhammadan to the Court of Ballala III for rescue. "The neighbouring Hindu prince" should be somebody whom we have not yet identified. Dr. Venkataramaniah should have explained the inconsistent phenomenon. But let that be as it is. In Chapter II of this part, the author dealt at length about the early history of the Sangama family. The main inferences drawn from his researches are (i) that Harihara was a relation of Kanya-Naick whom the Sultan sent to Kambila (2) that he embraced Islam in the beginning and (3) that Bukkaraya, the

father of Sangama, was a Mandaleswara under the Kakatiya Emperor Prataparudra. One of the astounding statements made was that Bukka had a Muhammadan son Ganga Salar. In the first proposition, two things were taken for granted. Mr. Somasekharasarma, who originally wrote the article equating Kapaya Nayaka of the Telugu country with Krishna Naick of Ferishtah, and Kanya Naick of Barni, had his own doubts about the conclusions arrived at and Dr. Venkataramaniah who is inspired by that article, did not advance new arguments apart from those of Mr. Sarma towards that question. We may believe that Kanya Naick and Kapaya Naick are one and the same persons, but to say that Harihara was a relative of this famous Naick is preposterous. When Kanya Naick and the Sultan of Delhi were enemies and the former had led a rebellion against the Sultan in 1345, how was it possible that the Sultan could send a relative of his foe, to Kambala? Dr. Venkataramaniah proved to hint that Harihara was ruling independently, the Kampli State and its surroundings, and the country even extending to the west-coast from 1339 A.D., and that inscriptions were found bearing ample testimony to that fact. In that case, it is unwise to propound that the Sultan and Harihara were ruling the State simultaneously. Harihara did not owe any allegiance to the Sultan. But to serve his purpose, Dr. Venkataramaniah imagined so, and stated that it was Harihara who stirred up a revolt and he was the relative of Kanya Naick. What was the necessity for the revolt and against whom, did Harihara revolt? It is a pity that the Doctor did not visualise completely the conditions of the period. The truth, as we have understood is that there is a triangular fight for supremacy in the South. After the extinction of the Telinga Empire and the fall of the Kampli State, the Telugus headed by the Araviti Chiefs, tried to hold sway over the Raichuru doab and were successful in driving away Harihara and his followers, who were ruling that portion, as successors to Kampli State. Hence the transfer of the Capital was made from Anegondi to the Southern Bank of the Tungabhadra. The Muhammadan was driven away temporarily from the field by the Telugu Chiefs, who did not extend their activity beyond the Southern banks of the Tungabhadra, and allowed Harihara and his brothers to hold their own, without any further molestation. That is the truth, as we have understood. About the second proposition that Harihara embraced Islam, we have to thrust it aside as a figment of imagination. It followed from the first. Harihara had to be made a Muhammadan to support the first statement. When the followers of the Crescent, and the Hindus, were fighting with each other and when the two religions had come into conflict, it is impossible to believe that a Hindu Chief had, then, become a Muhammadan and that his followers had tolerated it. Dr. Venkataramaniah, had stated, that Bukka had a

Muhammadan son in one 'Ganga Salar'. The scholar who accuses Rev. Heras for some of the statements made inadvertently, should not commit the same mistake. The Turuka of Kalubarga was not the son of Bukka. To imagine that the son of Bukka should come and destroy the Gopura of Belur, is an unwarranted statement. This statement marred the whole piece of the good work turned out so far by the learned author.

When we come to Chapter III of the part, we are going through, we are faced with some interesting statements made by the author. He says that the Vijayanagar polity had its foundation in the Kakatiya administrative system. The students of the South Indian polity did not understand that in that way. The South Indian Polity had a broad continuous system. The author of the 'Indian Culture Through Ages' was of opinion that the Vijayanagar polity had its basis on the Hoyasala administrative machinery also. It is enough if we state that the statement of the Doctor is a partial truth, but not a hard fact. In Chapter IV of the part, the author accuses Heras of coming to 'absurd conclusions' and finds fault with him for 'interpreting literally the conventional verses which appear in most of the inscriptions.' Beyond this, Dr. Venkataramaniah could not satisfactorily explain the fight between the first few rulers of the Sangama Dynasty and the Andhras, as shown in the inscriptions. We believe that Rev. Heras, is strongly entrenched in this argument and say that it is the cardinal point raised by him in support of the Kanarese origin of the Empire. We have now come to the end. The last Chapter of this part deals with the expansion of the Empire. The chapter is well written and bears intelligent marks of research.

The bulk of the volume is enriched by a number of appendices. One or two points we have to state in connection with them. In 'Prataparudriyam' it is stated that Prataparudra conquered the Kampli State-*vide* Natakaprakaranam. We have also got the information from the Telugu literature, as quoted by the author. In the appendix 'Karnata and Andhra' the author had also made some strange statements. If any author of much less equipment and compliments had made these statements, the world of intelligent readers, would have discarded them as simply foolish. He says, that Sreenatha's statement that his language was Kanarese, should be interpreted literally. If Telugu is Kanarese and Kanarese is Telugu, we understand the statement. But one is not the other. We invite his attention to the interpretation given by Mr. Veerabhadrarao in his 'History of the Andhras' Vol. III. Dr. Venkataramaniah quoted the book as one of the books referred to by him and he should have contradicted the premier Andhra Historian in this respect.

As we are dealing with the origin of the Vijayanagar Empire elsewhere, we have not gone into details. We admire the indefatigable and painstaking energy, which throughout marks the work, and commands the arguments put forth, though they do not carry conviction with us. The book provokes thought and inspires the students in this particular field for further investigation. We wish all success to the author in his further attempts in the field of historical research and expect further productions from his pen.

1 Twentieth Century, June and July, 1935.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1933.

Published by **Kern Institute Leydon.** (Price Rs. 6.)

We congratulate the Publishers on their maintaining the usual high standards of the Bibliography despite the distressing financial situation of the institute. Some welcome additions of the present Volume are (i) the elaborate introduction and (ii) a few lines in reverential remembrance of the founder of the Institute Mr. Hendrik Kern to whom the whole of the Oriental World of Research is indebted. The addition of an eminent Indian Scholar, Dr. Bimal Churn Law to the Editorial Board and his assuming the responsibility for digesting in the Bibliography books and articles written in the Indian Vernaculars are praiseworthy. We only suggest that the learned doctor would do well to seek the co-operation of the associations and individuals who are working in the field of historical research in the various provinces. The Introduction in which, are incorporated archaeological researches, epigraphic surveys and conducted in Persepolis, India, Kashmir, Ceylon, Further India, Indonesia, etc. along with the illustrations appended at the end enormously add to the utility of the Bibliography. We congratulate the Institute on the excellent Service rendered to Oriental Research. We recommend every institution to subscribe to this useful work and thereby help the institution financially.

V. S. R.

Kabir and the Bhakti Movement—Vol. 1 Kabir—his autobiography by Dr. Mohan Singh, Oriental College, Lahore 1934 (Atmaram & Sons, Lahore—Price Rs. 2/-)

This is the first volume of the author's work on Kabir and the Bhakthi movement and deals with the biography of Kabir. The Volume under review has been his production under the guidance of Dr. Woolner of the Punjab University.

The theistic idealism of Ramanuja has given place in the north to various Bhakthi movements centering about the Avatars of Krishna and Rama. The systems of Nimbarka, Chaitanya and Vallabha and latterly the degenerate Radha cult belong to the former class while the schools of Ramanand, Kabir and Tulasidas to the latter. They differed from the Bhakthi Yoga of Ramanuja in that they gave more importance to self surrender and love of God rather than to continuous meditation accompanied by Yogic processes. Tradition has woven round all these religious teachers innumerable anecdotes the historicity of which is open to doubt and these have successfully confused the chronology of the various religious systems. Biographical details including the dates of birth and death of the religious teachers are conflicting.

Dr. Mohan Singh has attempted in this work to clear the way and give us true information relating to the life of Kabir. He had at his disposal many new manuscripts available in the Panjab University. The works of Reay, Westcott, Farquhar and other writers have been referred to and criticised. A detailed bibliography is given at the beginning of the work and numerous works in Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and Persian have been drawn upon. But we are sorry to note that the work far from being a connected narrative of the life of Kabir is no more than a collation of random jottings and notes. It consists of 39 sections and the last 24 are entirely disconnected. The points discussed have to be sifted from a maze of conflicting opinions.

The writer refutes the traditional details of Kabir's life and concludes that he was a mussulman of Julaha (weaver) caste and that he was born at Maghar rather than at Belhara or Kasi. The derivation of his name from Kar and Bir is rightly discredited as also of the names of his mother and wife Moi and Loi. The date of Kabir's birth is fixed between 1360-98 A. D. and his death between 1420-49. His alleged connection with Sikander Lodi of Delhi (1488-1512 A. D.) is criticised but the existence of a Sikander, a persecutor of Hindus, who died in 1416 A. D. and of another Malik Sikander Lodi of Lahore who died in 1428 A. D. is admitted (Para 37. Page 92). The author fixes the chronological order of gurus Namdev, Ramanand, Kabir, Raidas and Nanak and is conscious of having suggested a few startling points in reference to

Kabir's discipleship of Ramanand. Tradition is unanimous throughout northern and southern India that Kabir as a young boy became a disciple of Ramanand who was by that time in his old age. The writer concludes that Kabir had no Guru and attributes the story to the contrivances of eager Hindu Biographers!! Kabir's utterances 'I am the child of Allah and Ram; Hari is my Guru and, my pir "I have worshipped the Guru Bibek (vivēka) are interpreted as contradicting the discipleship of Ramanand. Ramanand according to the author was born in 1299 A. D. and died in 1354 A. D. The influence of the teachings of Namdev, and Ramanand on Kabir is however admitted (p 18 & 61) but their approximate dates as given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Ranade are referred to on P 55 and 56 and passed over. Kabir's knowledge is said to have been derived from Bairagis, Jogis, and Sufis as the author of the Dabistan states but his discipleship of any religious teacher is negatived. The Lord Himself, the Sat Guru is stated to be Kabir's guru. One has to pause and reconsider the conclusions of the author in this connection.

The author's views on the Philosophy of Kabir and the religious teachers like Gorakhnath, Namdev and Ramanand, though intended to be treated in Vol III of the work are yet foreshadowed in Pages 63-70. These are equally new and try to make the religious teachers like Gorakh, Namdev, Ramanand and Kabir propounders of the 'Shabad' doctrine (Sabda). The doctrine is even found in the Upanishads and is known to Sankara. (P. 64 and 69) Referring to Gorakhnath the writer says on P. 67 '*His new cult was an attempt to reconcile later Buddhism and Sufism. Gorakh's mind was taken up by Hinduism and Pauranism and called Bhagti.*' It has been the accepted opinion of many scholars that the Bhakthi cult as propounded by Ramanand and later religious teachers of the north was only a development of the early Bhagavata doctrines. It was Ramanuja who gave Bhakthi a new interpretation. With him 'it was man's reaching out towards a fuller knowledge of God quietly and meditatively. It was not mere emotionalism but included the training of the will as well as the intellect but this interpretation of Ramanuja was not accepted by Ramanand and his followers. We have only to await the author's pronounced views on the subject in the third volume of the work.

(Last but not least we wish to offer a suggestion with reference to the transliteration adopted in the book i.e. Bhagti, Baishnav, Samadh, Bibek etc.) It is better to adopt the transliteration according to the Sanskritists and have that in accordance with the northern India Vernacular pronunciation so as to make the work acceptable to all scholars throughout India.

M. Raghavacharyulu.

Qutbshahi of Golcondah in the Seventeenth Century in Marathi.

By C.V. Bendre. Published by Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona, 1934, pp. 158 + 203. Price Rs. 4.

The geographical and cultural unity of India should have made political unity a normal feature of Indian history. But physical impediments and human failings conspired to render effective imperial rule merely an occasional episode, so that a major part of the political history of India came to consist of the annals of the local dynasties. These must be critically studied before an exact and exhaustive treatise on Indian history can be written. Already considerable work has been done with regard to the various Hindu dynasties of the Deccan and South India. Similar detailed studies regarding the Mahammadan dynasties are still a desideratum. The central political theme of the 17th century happened to be prolonged duel between the Mughal Emperors and the Deccani Sultans. In this duel the Adil Shahis and the Qutb Shahis played a prominent part; and yet hitherto there was not a single *complete* impartial account of these dynasties. So far as the Qutb Shahis are concerned, Mr. V. C. Bendre's book removes this want to some extent.

The book under review consists of two parts the first part (pp. 1-158) contains a complete historical sketch in Marāṭi of the Qutb Shahi dynasty and serves as an introduction to the second part (pp. 1-203) containing three extracts from the Mackenzie collection bearing on the history of Golconda in the 17th century. The author has utilised most of the available original Maratha, Muhammadan and European records in writing the introductory part and editing the extracts. He has also carefully mentioned his sources and has given ample annotations in the foot-notes.

The first extract is entitled 'The History of a Late Revolution in the Kingdom of Golconda'. From internal evidence it may be inferred that it was written shortly after A. D. 1674 by an Englishman who was on familiar terms with some grandee of the Qutb Shahi court. It gives a vivid description of the circumstances under which Abul Hassan alias Tana Shah came to the throne of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda in A. D. 1673. It was first published in A. D. 1696 as an appendix to John Ovington's 'A voyage to Surat of 1689', which has now become very rare. Being a contemporary document, its importance to the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty is obvious, and Mr. Bendre has rendered very valuable service in bringing it out in this new form.

The second extract consists of an English translation of the passages, dealing with the reigns of Abdullah and Abul Hassan, taken from Hadigat-we-Alem. The latter is a history of the Qutb Shahis and the Nizams compiled in persian about A. D. 1803 by Mr. Abul Qasim at the instance of Nawab Safdar Jang Nasir-ud-Doulah of Hyderabad. Although a late authority, its value lies in its quotations from contemporary authors which throw some new light upon the operations of the Mughals against the Sultans of the Deccan.

The third extract, entitled 'Some Account of Akkana and Madanna', was originally written in Telugu by some unknown author, and Col. Mackenzie got it translated into English about A. D. 1801. In the light of the researches of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (published in the Jr. of Ind. Hist. Vol. X. pt. II.), the account of the rise of Madanna and Akkana as described in this extract appears to be rather unreliable.

In the introductory part of the book, Mr. Bendre has given a new orientation to the subject by emphasizing the relations of the Marathas with the Qutb Shahis and making Aurangzeb's aggressive Policy the keynote to the Maratha-Qutb Shahi alliance in the Deccan. Shivaji and Aurangzeb stood for two conflicting ideals, and the self interest of Abul Hassan naturally impelled him and his minister Madanna to sympathise and actively co-operate with the leader of the Marathas as against the Mughals. The author's description of the character and policy of Abul Hassan is extremely judicious. A few points, however, seem to call for remark. Madanna was not a Maratha as the wording about him on p. 4 is likely to suggest, nor Dhowleswaram is on the banks of Kristna as is mentioned in the foot-note on 35. The bilingual nature of the book detracts from its utility to those who do not know either Marathi or English. The repetitions could have been avoided, and the space thus saved could have been better used by providing an index. But there is no doubt that it is a piece of sound work and is a worthy companion to Mr. Moreland's 'Relations of Golconda'.

GURTY VENKATA RAO.

NOTES

THE SHRI SUKTAM.

Weged in the old Samhita of the Rig Veda, the Shri Suktam is perhaps the most remarkable of its Khilas. By reason of the sonorous language and mysterious phraseology it has been the subject of many commentaries and almost every one of its fifteen riks has been impounded upon for achieving some object by reason of its ultra-mundane power.

The Sukta throughout with the exception of one verse, which is enigmatic, is in praise of Shri—the Goddess of Wealth.

In the first verse Agni is invoked to call the Goddess for the author, or recitor, by one word. The rest of the verse is devoted to the description and praise of her. One commentator, however, who regards the goddess as the deity of Suktam, and not Agni, as others do, translates the reference to him as addressed to the Veda itself.

In the second verse reference is made to पुरुषान्. Orthodox commentators take it as referring to family. Obviously it is a reference to slaves, who were found in abundance, say at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, if not earlier. The word must be translated as persons and does refer to male and female slaves. If this interpretation is correct then it will help to fix the age of its composition.

There are other Khilas of the Rig Veda which refer to the great sacrifice performed by Janmejaya the son, or successor, of Parikshit, who was born immediately after the close of the Mahabharata war, and also the herofication, if not deification, of Shri Krishna, who is addressed as "the beloved of Gopies" in the Mahabharat, and who is said to have protected Parikshit since his conception in the womb. This fact leads to the conclusion that Khilas were being framed even after the close of the Mahabharat war. There is no mention of the institution of slaves in the Vedic or Mahabharat literature. Slavery was rampant among Greeks and Romans. This reference seems to approve of it. This fact and the language of the Suktam, as well as its invocation to Shri, lead to the conclusion that it was composed between the conquest of Alexander and the downfall of the Greek dominion in India.

The third verse refers to three, out of the four, divisions in an India army of the time of Porus and perhaps of the Mahabharat war.

That is to say it refers to cavalry, chariots and elephants and suggests that wealth will be had by their assistance or through them.

The fourth and fifth verses are attractive by their alliterations only.

The sixth verse is enigmatic. The commentators paraphrase it thus.— The Sun-hued goddess by her penance, has produced the tree known as bilwa. May its fruit remove ignorance and poverty.

This exaltation of the tree and its fruit over the deity is enigmatic. The commentators have tried to solve it by referring to a story told in the Puranas that the goddess produced the tree from the palm of her hand.

The fact is clear that according to this verse the fruit of the Bilwa tree is prayed to remove ignorance and poverty. How can it do it is the question. Probably it refers to its alchemic property. There may be a hidden meaning in the rik or the process how to utilise this fruit for making wealth has been lost. One commentary enjoins repetition of this rik and avers that when it has been repeated a certain number of times certain object will be achieved and so on in arithmetical progression.

In this connection the adjectival oblique करीषिणीम् is significant. The word means dried cow-dung. It is well known that dried cow dung is used in alchemy for turning a base metal into gold.

The word चिकीत in the twelfth verse is obscure. Vidyaranya takes it to mean a son of Lakshmi but gives no authority.

The next two verses are alliterative and have almost the same words and the same meaning except that the deities with which the goddess is identified are different viz: The Sun and the Moon respectively.

The last verse, which breaks the metre, refers to female slaves as well as slaves in general.

Altogether this खिलसूक्त of fifteen verses represents a stage when the modern Sanskrit verse was coming into existence. The only claim to poetry which it has is its sound and alliterations. Perhaps its great popularity is due to some alchemic secret which it hides.

M. V. KIBE.

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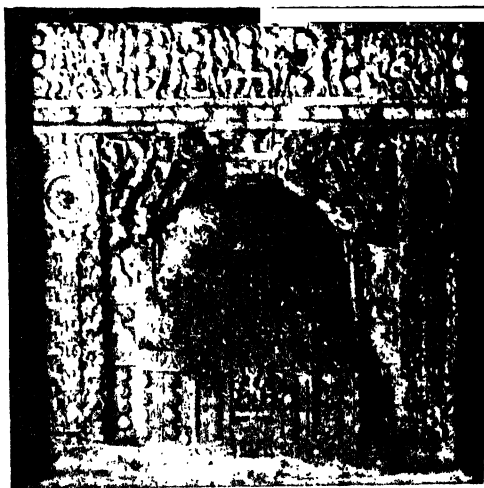
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JOURNAL
OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOLUME IX, PART 4
(APRIL 1935)



Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1936

Rajahmundry

Printed by A. Lakshmanaswamy Naidu at the Saraswathi Power Press—9601-'36.

Published by the Andhra Historical Research Society.

Annual Subscription for Members:—Indian 3 Rs. Foreign 6 Sh.

„ „ Institutions:— „ 6 Rs. „ 12 Sh.

Price Each Part Rs. 2 only. Postage extra.

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JOURNAL

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The Andhra Historical Research Society

Vol. IX }

APRIL, 1935

{ Part 4

Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings *

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

I

Roughly fifty years ago Dr. John Faithful Fleet published a critical study of the "*Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya kings*" in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.^(a) The objects of his investigation, to use his own words, were, "to determine the exact period within which the starting-point of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology must be placed to adjust the dates of successive reigns from that time, and to group together such historical details as are furnished by the records of the family and other documents."

Fleet's study does not, however, claim to be a regular account of history of that dynasty like that of his monumental work, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*.^(b) But it has nevertheless served

* This paper forms the *Introductory* chapter of my work on the *History of the Eastern Chalukyas* which is awaiting publication. This has never been intended to be published in any Journal, but the appearance of my friend Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma's article on the *Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas* in the latest issue of the *Journal of Oriental Research* (vol. IX part 1 pp. 17-45) has tempted me to alter my decision and publish immediately my Revised Chronology. Long before Mr. Sarma published his article I had occasion to discuss with him his theory and explain to him mine. But by that time my present paper was already prepared and now I publish it without altering it. I do not see any need now either to alter my views or criticise Mr. Sarma's theory. The reader will compare the two theories for himself and draw his own conclusion.

(a) *I.A.*, XX, pp. 1, 193 and 266.

(b) *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I. Part II,

as a basis and guide for those who continued his work. His 'Chronology' is a bare structure, a skeleton of mere dates into which the chronology of the Eastern Chālukya kings was adjusted with the help of a few given dates which yielded to calculation and conversion into the corresponding dates of the Christian era. His results were based upon certain assumptions which he accepted and final for his work, and upon facts known to him from the records discovered in his own time. Those assumptions primarily involved certain obviously fundamental misconceptions regarding Brahmanical ideas and religious customs, and secondly, a strain upon facts, mentioned in the Eastern Chālukya charters themselves, to suit his adjustment of some reigns.

In recent times many new records have been brought to light, and consequently many new historical details have been discovered. This discovery of fresh materials has made it necessary to examine Fleet's Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya kings closely and to make a systematic study of the history of that dynasty. But more than the discovery of new material in recent times, certain assumptions made by Fleet which appear at the very outset to be unwarranted and inaccurate, have induced me to make a fresh study of the Chronology of the Chālukya kings of Vēṅgi and verify the results obtained by him nearly half a century ago. In these pages the results of such investigation and re-examination of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology together with a critical and exhaustive study of all the available materials is presented for the first time; and this revised chronology is believed to be closely accurate and even correct.

A feature of special interest in the grants of the Eastern Chālukyas is the record, that each one of them from the time of the thirteenth king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III. gives, the length of each successive reign, commencing with that of the founder of the dynasty, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana or Viṣṇuvardhana I., a younger brother of the Western Chālukya king Pulikēśin II. There has been no difficulty as Fleet rightly observes in deducing from these details the approximate historical period of each member of the family. But the lengths of the reigns are stated mostly in whole years and without fractions; and the earliest case in which a specific date is given in the Śaka era, is that of the fourteenth king Viṣṇuvardhana Chālukya Bhīma I., whose accession to the throne is recorded to have taken place in S.S. 814, on Monday the 2nd *tithi* in the dark fortnight of the month Mēsha-Chaitra.^(c) And the thirteen reigns anterior to him covered

(c) C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18, (A.R.E. 1918 p. 126). Fleet was not aware of this date as this grant was not discovered in his time; he therefore took into account the date of the coronation of Vijayāditya-Amma II.

according to different records from two hundred and seventy-six to two hundred and eighty-four years. Consequently, the limits within which the commencement of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. might be placed are not far apart. Then deducting the period of 276 or 284 years from S.S. 814 expired, we arrive approximately at the initial point of Vishṇuvardhana's reign, which falls somewhere between S.S. 530 expired corresponding to A.D. 608-09 and S.S. 538 expired equivalent to A.D. 616-17. But this cannot be taken as absolutely accurate, for not only a good deal of uncertainty attends the dates and lengths of the reigns of some of the intermediate kings, but also the lengths of most of the reigns are given in complete years without fractions.

Dr. Hultsch^(d) placed the starting-point of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. in S.S. 526-27 expired, corresponding to A.D. 603-04, roughly nineteen or twenty years before what I shall show to be really the correct date. Dr. Burnell gave, in the first edition of his *South Indian Palaeography* at page 21, the initial date in the first instance as S.S. 542 expired or A.D. 620 which is three years prior to, and in the second instance, in the second edition of his work, as S.S. 528 expired or A.D. 606-07, which is seventeen or eighteen years before the proper time. Fleet himself fixed the starting point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign in S.S. 538 current or A.D. 615, roughly eight or nine years before the correct date as shown below.

Among these writers Fleet alone made a systematic and critical study of the Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya kings; and yet he erred in determining the precise period within which the starting-point of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology had to be placed. As a matter of fact his error primarily arose out of his ignorance of the Brahmanical ideas and religious customs and, secondly, on account of his incorrect and unwarranted presumptions regarding the occasions for the public and ceremonial acts of the ancient Hindu sovereigns. Thus he wrote, "that whatever may be the strict custom of later times, other instances are accumulating in which eclipses of the sun, at any rate which we know to have been not visible in India, are quoted in genuine records as occasions of ceremonies."^(e) It was this erroneous hypothesis that led Fleet to accept certain dates when there were eclipses of the sun at any rate, though not visible anywhere in or near India as the real and proper occasions of public and ceremonial acts mentioned in the grants. And the corresponding dates in the Christian era, too, which he considered as correct landmarks in the Eastern Chālukya Chronology, are not really the correct ones as will be shown below. And therefore, his

(d) *S.I.I.* I. p. 32.

(e) *I.A.* XX. p. 2.

entire adjustment of the lengths or durations of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings turns out to be faulty, incorrect and even confusing; and thus his entire Chronology has to be totally rejected.

II

We shall now examine all the available materials and then determine the precise period within which lay the starting-point of the reign of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Vēṅgi, and then reconstruct the Chronology of the family. There is a record, a copper-plate grant from Haidarabad in the Dekhan from which we can determine very closely the period of the commencement of the reign of Satyaśraya Pṛthivīvallabha Pulikēśin II. the conqueror of Vēṅgi.^(f) There is another record, a copper-plate grant from Koppāram in Guntur district of the Andhra country, which helps us to fix exactly the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulikēśin II.^(g) And there is a third copper-plate grant from Cīpurupalli in the Vizagapatam district which furnishes us materials for determining precisely the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I. as paramount sovereign in Vēṅgi.^(h) These are obviously the preliminary points which must be considered first in the study of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology.

The Haidarabad grant records that, while residing at his capital Vātapi, (Bādami in Bijāpur district, Bombay Presidency) the Western Chālukya king Pulikēśin granted the village of Mākaraṇṇi to a Brāhmaṇa, (*ātmanah pravardhamāna rājyābhiṣēka samvatsarē tṛtīyē Śaka-nṛpati samvatsara śatēṣu chatustrims-ādihikēṣu pañchasvatitēṣu Bhādrapada-āmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇa nimittam*), "on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Bhādrapada, in the third year of his own installation in the sovereignty, in S.S. 534 (expired)." It is this record that fixes the period of his coronation. And it is also of importance in showing that Pulikēśin II. had established himself at Vātapi firmly before the date recorded in it; and consequently, that the earlier expeditions and successes described in the Aihole inscription⁽ⁱ⁾ as preliminary to the consolidation of his power were, at any rate, anterior to the date of this record. Fleet calculated the eclipse equivalent of the one mentioned on the new-moon *tithi* of the *purnimānta* Bhādrapada of S.S. 534 expired as that of the 2nd August, A.D. 612. On this date there was a total eclipse of the sun, but it was not visible anywhere in or near India.^(j) Fleet accepted

(f) *I.A.*, VI p. 72.

(g) *E.I.* XVIII, p. 257.

(h) *I.A.*, XX, p. 15.

(i) *E.I.* VI, pp. 1 ff.

(j) *I. A.* XX, p. 2.

this equivalent as the genuine date of the grant, not however, without an expression of doubt, whether this eclipse which was not visible anywhere in or near India could be the real date of the record. He accepted this equivalent merely on the assumption, as has been stated above, that eclipses not visible in India were also occasions of public and ceremonial acts. And though the eclipse was not visible in India, yet because there was really an eclipse of the sun on that day denoted by the given details, Fleet felt himself constrained to declare that he would not be justified in assuming the existence of any mistake in the record. With this explanation he accepted that the eclipse intended in the Haidarabad grant of the third year of Pulikēsin II. was that of the 2nd August, A. D. 612, corresponding to S.S. 534 expired, invisible though it was.

But with due deference to Dr. Fleet, it must be said that his equivalent of the eclipse of the Haidarabad grant cannot be taken as the real and correct one. In the first place the inscription could not record an eclipse of the sun which was not seen or visible in India. Eclipses not visible in India or even invisible in the particular locality in which they reigned were not occasions for the ancient Hindu sovereigns for any public or ceremonial acts just as much as they are not at the present day. Brahmanical ideas and customs have not changed since time immemorial; and, therefore, eclipses not visible in India were not eclipses to the ancient Hindu sovereigns. And thus it becomes plain that Fleet's equivalent of the Haidarabad grant is altogether incorrect. In the second place, it might be that we have in this record a genuine mistake in respect of the year quoted, Ś. S. 534 expired for Ś. S. 535 expired. The composer of the grant or the scribe might have unwittingly made a mistake in writing down the charter as the formality of inscribing the donation on the copper-plate usually took place long after it was made. If that be so, the real equivalent of the eclipse mentioned in the Haidarabad grant, of the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada of Ś. S. 535 expired, is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613.^(k) This date was under the consideration of Fleet, but he finally rejected it on the ground that there could

(k) The reader will bear in mind that, in the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement of fortnights, the luni-solar month ends with the *pūrṇima* or the full moon and, in the *amānta* arrangement with the *amāvāsya* or new-moon *tithi*; and that the *pūrṇimānta* month Chaitra commences with the 1st *tithi* in the preceding dark fortnight, i. e. one fortnight or *pakṣa* earlier than in the *amānta* arrangement. Consequently, *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra begins with the preceding dark fortnight of the *amānta* Phalguna, and the luni-solar year ends with the full moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Phalguna. In other words *pūrṇimānta* months commence fifteen days earlier than the *amānta* months. It appears that both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* arrangements of the fortnights were in vogue simultaneously in the Dekhan till about the end of the seventh century A.D.

not be any mistake about the Śaka year quoted and that A. D. 613 could not be the equivalent of the year Ś.S. 534 expired. In Ś.S. 535 expired Bhādrapada was an intercalary month; and on the new-moon *tithi* which fell on Monday, there was a total or an almost total eclipse of the sun, visible all over India. It was probably total at Vātapi or certainly close to that place, and the totality occurred when the sun was at the very zenith of Vātapi. The eclipse for that reason was a very marked and memorable event for that locality. Hence it is obvious that the eclipse intended in the Haidarabad grant was that of Monday, the 23rd July, A.D. 613 corresponding to Ś.S. 535 expired. There is no doubt that this was at the real and correct equivalent of the date; and I feel that there is ample justification for assuming the existence of a genuine mistake in the record.

As the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada of Ś.S. 535 expired fell in the third of Pulikēśin's reign, it is plain that the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada of Ś.S. 532 lay in the first year of his reign. And consequently, the coronation or *rājyābhiṣeka* of Pulikēśin II., may be assumed to have taken place on some day, still to be exactly determined, from the *pūrṇimānta* Āsvayuja new-moon of Ś.S. 532 expired, up to the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika new-moon of Ś.S. 533 expired, the corresponding English period being from the 23rd September, A. D. 610 to the 14th August, A.D. 611. If we assume that the date of the Haidarabad grant lay towards the close of the third year, it is probable that the coronation of Pulikēśin II. took place either in the *pūrṇimānta* Āsvayuja or *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of Ś.S. 532 expired, corresponding to the English period September to October, A.D. 610. For the present, however, this date need not be more closely determined; and this result is quite sufficient for the purposes of our present enquiry.

The next record is the Koppāram copper-plate grant of Pulikēśin II. It was first discovered by K. V. Lakshmanarao, and edited by him in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*.^(l) Later it was edited again in the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. E. Hultzsch who hoped to improve upon Lakshmana Rao's reading and the interpretation of the text.^(m) Consequently there are two interpretations of the grant which are really very embarrassing to the historian. "The composer of the grant knew so little Sanskrit", as Dr. Hultzsch rightly observes, "that in some places it is difficult to divine what he really wanted to express." The record registers the grant of a field of eight hundred *nivartanas* in the village Iḡbuli in the Karmarāshṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Vēda Sarman of the Saṇḍīlya *gōtra*. The grant was made at an auspicious

(l) vol. IV. Part 1, pp. 43-54.

(m) vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

moment on Thursday, the *Mahānavami* in the month Kārttika in the 'augmenting twenty-first year of the prosperous reign.' There has been considerable amount of speculation as to the real meaning of the expression, "in the augmenting twenty-first year of the prosperous reign." Lakshmanarao holds that the twenty-first year of the prosperous reign referred to that of prince Dhruvarāja the *ājñāpti* (executor) of the grant, and thus computed the English equivalent of the date denoted by the details, Kārttika *Mahānavami*, Thursday, as the 21st October, A.D. 611 corresponding to the S. S. 533 expired. (n) According to him the charity was made in the immediate presence of the king Satyāśraya Prthivīvallabha Pulikēśin II. and apparently by him, though the command was actually reduced to writing on the copper-plates and executed by the *ājñāpti* Prthivī Dhruvarāja somewhat later. Lakshmanarao identifies this nobleman with Satyasraya Prithivi Dhruvaraja Indravarman of the Goa plates.^(o) This chieftain was then a subordinate of the *Mahārāja* Prthivīvallabha meaning Pulikēśin II. and was stationed in Rēvati-*dvīpa* as the governor of the four *viśayas* and *maṇḍalas*. He granted a village named Karellika in the Khṛṣṭahāra *dēśi*, to a Brahmana with the permission of his sovereign on the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha of S.S. 532 expired, corresponding to 5th January, A. D. 611. (p) The record is further dated in the twentieth year, apparently of the reign of prince Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman himself; and this fact indicates the commencement of his government in or about S.S. 512 expired, corresponding to A. D. 590-91, in the reign of Kirtivarman I. Lakshmanarao believes that Duvarāja or Dhruvarāja was the proper name of the prince and that the appellation *Prthivi* joined to his personal name in the Koppāram grant was appropriated from his sovereign's full title *Prthivīvallabha*, just in the same manner, the title Satyāśraya was added to his name in the Goa plates. This appropriation of the titles *Prthivi* and Satyāśraya, at any rate, indicates Dhruvarāja's great devotion and loyalty to his sovereigns, Pulikēśin II and his father Kirtivarman I. It is thus plain that Dhruvarāja was a powerful chieftain who could use his own regnal years in the charters issued by him. Consequently, if the twentieth year of Prthivī Duvarāja fell in S.S. 532 expired, then the twenty-first year would naturally fall in S.S. 533 expired. Here, Thursday the *Mahānavami* of the month Kārtika

(n) Lakshmanarao erred in holding S.S. 533 to be a current year. If it is to be taken as a current year, then its equivalent is A. D. 610-11, and Lakshmanarao's calculation fails. It ought to be taken correctly therefore as an expired year corresponding to A.D. 611-12.

(o) *Jour. of the Bom. Br. R. A. S.* X. p. 363.

(p) Fleet did not decide whether the Saka year 532 was an expired or a current year, as it was unnecessary for his purpose.

which has to be reckoned as the ninth *tithi* in the bright fortnight, it being the synonym for the *tithi* on which the Trēta Yuga commenced, comes to our help and enables us to fix Ś S. 533 expired, Vibhava *saṃvatsara* as the required year. In that year, the ninth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month Kārtika falls exactly by computation on Thursday, the corresponding English date being the 21st October, A.D. 611. And this day, according to Lakshmanarao is the date of the Koppāram plates; and it fixes the precise period of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulikēśin II.

Dr. Hultsch on the other hand takes a contrary view. He thinks that the twenty-first year of the prosperous reign belongs to Pulikēśin II. and rejects Lakshmanarao's interpretation of the dates as incorrect and untenable. He holds Duvarāja to be a Dravidian *taḍbhava* of the Sanskrit word *Yuvarāja* and, therefore, *Prṭhivī Duvarāja* a title like *Prṭhivīvallabha*, the favourite appellation of Pulikēśin II. He then identifies *Prṭhivī-Duvarāja* with Kubja Viṣṇuvaradhana, a younger brother of Pulikēśin II and assumes that he continued to be a subordinate of the latter till the twenty-first year of his reign. Robert Sewell calculates the English equivalent of this date for Dr. Hultsch on the assumption that the twenty-first year of the prosperous reign of the Koppāram grant belongs to the victorious reign of Pulikēśin. According to him, by Thursday, the *Mahānavami* day of the month Kārtika, in the absence of any information as to whether this ninth day was in the bright or dark fortnight, the ninth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is meant; and it fell by both the *Brahma* and *Ārya-Siddhantas*, on Thursday, October 10, A. D. 631. (q).

We shall examine these two conflicting interpretations of the record. It is apparent from the edict that the actual donation was made in the presence of Pulikēśin II. and by his command, and that the formal act of registering it on the copper-plates and executing it was carried out sometime later by *Prṭhivī Duvarāja*. "Be it known to you," says the record, "that in the presence of the Vallabha was given, in accordance with the sastric injunctions, by *Prṭhivī Duvarāja*,"(r) Dr. Hultsch translates the statement in a slightly different way. He thinks that the text has to be interpreted as meaning that the "execution of the grant was formally bestowed on *Prṭhivī-duvarāja*, (i. e. *Prithiviyuvaraja*.") This slight variation in the interpretation of the text is quite negligible. But it is plain from this statement that the charity was made by *Prṭhivī Duvarāja* himself on behalf of his sovereign and probably under his express command in the same

(q) E. I. XVIII. P. 261.

(r) The translation is that of K. V. Lakshmana Rao M. A.

manner as his Goa grant was made in the previous year. And consequently it is reasonable to assume that Pṛthivī-Duvarāja mentioned the regnal of his own government and not that of his overlord. But Dr. Hultzsch thinks that Pṛthivī Duvarāja has to be identified with Pṛthivī Yuvarāja, meaning Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and that the regnal year, therefore, belongs to the reign of Pulikēśin II. This interpretation, it is difficult to accept.

Vishṇuvardhana I had never the appellation *Pṛthivīduvarāja* in all his records. The Satara grant calls him *Pṛthivīvallabha Śrī Vishṇuvardhana Yuvarāja* Vishmasiddhi^(s) and it is thus clear that he had the appellation Pṛthivīvallabha even while he was the *Yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent to his elder brother Pulikēśin II, and was not called Pṛthivī-Duvarāja or Pṛthivī-Yuvarāja. That is not all. The achievements of Pṛthivī Duvarāja of the Koppāram grant are exactly similar to those claimed by Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Goa plates with whom he has been correctly indentified by Lakshmanarao. In the Goa plates Dhruvarāja calls himself the master of the four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, and in the Koppāram grant he tells us that he had defeated a circle of enemies by the strength of his arm, "which was a churning stick of the wicked people of the Kali age (or the family of Kali), which was skilled in daring deeds in many battles, and which was wielding a drawn sword, and that he had seized the neighbouring territories (*maṇḍalas*) and secured a kingdom to the lineage of his son." Both these grants which were issued within the space of a year or two, mention an era or regnal year, which in the absence of the word '*mahārājasya*' before the phrase *pravardhamānu vijaya rājya samvalsarē*, as in the Satara plates of Vishṇuvardhana, renders the interpretation of Dr. Hultzsch utterly untenable. It is also unreasonable to assume, as the learned Doctor does, that Kubja Vishṇuvardhana who still remained the *yuvarāja* till the twenty-first year of his brother's reign, i. e. October A. D. 631. could have claimed as having secured a kingdom to the lineage of his son, when the conquest of Vēngi was the great exploit of his brother the king, and when there was no prospect of his founding an independent kingdom of his own. Dr. Hultzsch's interpretation, therefore, is palpably wrong and untenable. On the other hand it is easy to accept Lakshmanarao's view which is most reasonable that, Pṛthivī-Duvarāja who was an adept in conquering the kingdoms of the neighbouring hostile kings, who had been governor of the four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, and who had acquired the right to mention his own regnal year in the charters

(s) I. A. Vol. XIX p. 309 ff.

issued by him, had secured a kingdom to the lineage of his son. By the date of the Goa grant, January 5, A. D. 611, this nobleman was already the ruler of a small hereditary kingdom with his capital in the Rēvatidvīpa for twenty years previously. He is stated to have belonged to the *Adi-Mahā-Banpūra-vamśa*, 'the original great Banpūra family', which is plainly identical with the Banpūra lineage from which Pulikēśin I. and his younger son Mangalēśa successively obtained their queens.^(t) Dhruvarāja-Indravarman had apparently served a long time the Chalukya family from the days of Kīrttivarman I. and was, therefore, an old and powerful nobleman who was the mainstay of Pulikēśin II's power.

It is thus evident that the identification of Dr. Hultzsch of Pr̥thivīduvarāja with Kubja Vishṇuvarhana is utterly wrong. There is no doubt that he got into hopeless confusion. If the Koppāram grant is to be taken as to belong to the twenty-first year of Pulikēśin II, it means that the king held sway over Vēṅgi on the 10th October, A. D. 631 and for sometime prior to it and, also certainly for sometime beyond that date. But it is impossible to believe that Kubja Vishṇuvarhana remained still the *yuvārāja* in the twenty-first year of his elder brother's reign. The twenty-first year mentioned in the Koppāram plates, therefore, doubtless belongs to the government of Pr̥thivī Duvarāja who has to be identified with Satyaśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa grant, and not to that of Pulikēśin II. It is no doubt true that the appellation *Pr̥thivī*, mentioned in the Koppāram record is not found in the Goa grant of this prince, but this simple omission in drafting the charter is not an unintelligible discrepancy. The entire record on the Koppāram plates is so carelessly drafted that the omission of the appellation *Pr̥thivī*, is hardly a serious one. And that being so, the real equivalent of the date of the Koppāram grant is Thursday, October 21, A. D. 611. This date is in perfect agreement with the result we have obtained in determining the probable date of the coronation of Pulikēśin II, by calculating the real equivalent of the Haidarabad grant. Consequently we are able to fix exactly the date of the conquest of Vēṅgi by Pulikēśin II, which may be reasonably taken to have been accomplished by October 10, A. D. 611. And it will be presently seen that this result is fully supported by other facts.

Some scholars have, however, raised a doubt as to how Pulikēśin II, who was crowned only in the latter part of A. D. 610 could have completely subdued all his enemies and conquered the kings of distant Kōśala, Kalinga and Kāñchī and even annexed Vēṅgi to his kingdom

(t) *Dyn. Kan, Districts*, p. 349.

with the space of a single year.^(u) But, as will be seen presently a closer study of the events recorded in the inscriptions of this period will easily dispel such a doubt. The Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35, makes it plain that Pulikēśin II. crowned himself at Vātāpi immediately after he had become the undisputed lord of the three Mahārāshṭrikas. It records also that Mangalēśa had a son for whom he aimed to secure the succession after himself. The last known certain date for Mangalēśa is recorded in his Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription.^(v) It is given as the fullmoon day of the month Vaisākha in the Siddhārtha *samvatsara* in the fifth year of Mangalēśa's reign, which corresponds to S.S. 524 expired, the English equivalent being April 12, A.D. 602.^(w) It is not known how long after this date Mangalēśa reigned in peace. But it is probable that soon after Mangalēśa's intentions become plain there ensued discord and war between Mangalēśa and Kirtivarman's son Pulikēśin II. in the course of which the former lost his life. It is difficult at present to determine the exact time of Mangalēśa's death, but it might have occurred some time after his fifth year, roughly in or about A. D. 604 *circa*. Fleet placed the death of Mangalēśa in A.D. 608, a year or so before the coronation of Pulikēśin II., to allow time for all that was done by Pulikēśin II. before his coronation, in quieting the general confusion that ensued on the death of Mangalēśa and the subjugation of the three Mahārāshṭrikas.^(x) But there is no reason why we should not place the event earlier than this for the very same reasons given by Fleet in the absence of any information to the contrary. After the death of Mangalēśa in A.D. 604 *circa*, there followed a period of anarchy, from A. D. 604 to 610 *circa*. During this period of more or less six years of confusion, bloodshed and anarchy, and to use the expression of the Aihole inscription, "when the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies", Satyāśraya Pulikēśin II. successfully fought his opponents and made himself the undisputed lord of Kuntala. It was during this period that he conquered Appāyika and made an ally of Gōvinda when they invaded his country. Then Pulikēśin II. marched upon Banavāsī, the Kadamba capital and reduced it. The Gāngas and the Alūpas were then subdued. The Mālavas of Kōṅkaṇa were then conquered, and the city of Puri on the west coast was invaded from the sea and captured. Then the Mauryas, the Lāṭas and

(u) Dr. N. V. Ramanayya: *Mahendravarman I. and Pulikesin II. in the Miscellany of Papers published in commemoration of the Seventieth birthday of Rao Sahab G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu*, 1933.

(v) *I. A.*, vol. XIX. p. 7.

(w) *Dyn. Kan. Dists.* p. 349 n. 1.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 348.

the Ghūrjaras were attacked and overwhelmed. It was at this juncture that the invasion of Harshavardhana of Kanauj was successfully resisted and repulsed. And then the sovereignty of the three countries known by the name Mahārāshṭrikas was completely secured. Thus Pulikēśin II. had finally established himself without opposition in his own kingdom which extended from Banavāsi on the south right up to Lātadēśa or Gujerat in the north. At this point apparently, five or six years after the death of Mangalēśa, and during the latter part of A. D. 610, he was publicly crowned to the succession. It was then at the head of the victorious army, after crushing the pride of the king of Kanauj that he turned to Kōsala, Kalinga and Vēṅgi for conquest and expansion of his empire, proudly emulating the example of the earlier Vākāṭaka and Vishṇukundin conquerors. And, therefore, it not impossible for the invasion of Vēṅgi to have taken place in A. D. 611, shortly after Pulikēśin II. had publicly annointed himself to the succession.

We shall now turn to the third record, the Cīpurupalli copper-plate grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. In this record Vishṇuvardhana himself has the title *Mahārāja*, and is, therefore, obviously a paramount sovereign. The inscription records the grant of a village by Vishṇuvardhana himself on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, in the *fourth* month and in the *eighteenth* year. Fleet calculates the date of eclipse from the given details and accepts the eclipse of the moon of the 7th July, A. D. 632, which occurred on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa of S. S. 554 expired, as the proper equivalent of the date mentioned in the grant. According to him S. S. 554 expired being the eighteenth year, S. S. 537 expired fell in the first year of the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, and, therefore, the first year of the king began in or with the month Viśākha of S. S. 537 expired, roughly five or six years after the commencement of the reign of his elder brother Pulikēśin II. Fleet assumes the month Viśākha to be a *pūrṇimānta* month ending with the full-moon *tithi*, and thus computes the corresponding English period, from the 21st March to the 19th April, A. D. 615. He states that this is the precise period within which lay the exact starting-point of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology. But he adds that the historical event which gave this starting-point was the installation of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana not as *Mahārāja* or independent king of the separate kingdom of Vēṅgi, but as *yuvārāja* associated with the government of his elder brother Pulikēśin II. Evidently, Fleet in advancing this theory, had under his consideration a slightly later date of the Satara grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. which mentions the donor as the *yuvārāja* of Pulikēśin II. at that time.

Fleet then justifies this result by means of two other dates of leading importance, as he calls them. The first of them is mentioned in a charter found somewhere in the Nellore district. It records that Vishṇuvardhana II., grandson of Vishṇuvardhana I. made a grant of the village of Rēyūru to a number of Brāhmaṇas, *pravardhamāna rājya dvitīyē samvatsarē Chaitra māṣē śukla pakṣē doṣṁyām Maghā nakṣatrē Budhavārē*, "on Wednesday, under the Maghā nakṣatra, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, in the augmenting second year of the prosperous reign."^(y) With the starting-point that has been proposed for the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana by himself, that of Vaiśākha, S. S. 537 expired, corresponding to the English period March-April, A. D. 615, Fleet computes the English equivalent of the Rēyūru grant as Wednesday, the 13th March A. D. 664, corresponding to Chaitra *śukla* 10 of S. S. 586 expired, on which day the moon was in the Maghā nakṣatra by all the three systems, *Sūryasiddhānta*, *Brahmasiddhānta* and *Gārgasamhitā*.^(yy) But it is to be noted that by all these three systems the *tithi śukla* 10 was not concurrent with the nakṣatra Maghā at all on Wednesday, the 13th March A. D. 664. According to Fleet, the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 10 commenced at 6 *ghaṭikas* 48 *palas* on Tuesday and ended on Wednesday the 13th March A. D. 664 at 1 *ghaṭika* 1 *pala*, i. e. 24 minutes 24 seconds after sunrise; and it is the *tithi śukla* 11 which, ending at 55 *ghaṭikas* 39 *palas*, i. e. 22 hours 15.6 minutes on the same day, was the expunged *tithi*, on this Wednesday, though there was the Maghā nakṣatra for the moon by all three systems. By the equal space system the nakṣatra Maghā began at 29 *ghaṭikas* on Wednesday and continued during the rest of the day. By the Garga system of unequal spaces it began at 45 *palas* on the Wednesday and ended at 57 *ghaṭikas* 12 *palas* on the same day. And by the *Brahmasiddhānta* system of unequal spaces, it began at 55 *ghaṭikas* 5 *palas* on the Tuesday and ended at 50 *ghaṭikas* 55 *palas* on the Wednesday. Thus it is plain that Maghā nakṣatra and the tenth *tithi* were not concurrent at all in any part of that Wednesday. And yet Fleet accepted this Wednesday, the 13th March A. D. 664, as the *real* equivalent of date mentioned in the Rēyūru grant, because there was the moon for the Maghā nakṣatra though the *tithi* current was Chaitra *śukla* 11 and not Chaitra *śukla* 10 as it should have been. Consequently this computation is obviously wrong and has therefore to be rejected. It may also be noted here that in order to equate the date as shown above, Fleet on the slender authority of two records only allots a reign of *thirty years* to the intervening king Jayasimha I. and rejects a period of *thirty-three years* recorded by an overwhelming majority of Eastern Chālukya grants.

(y) I. A. VII. p. 189 ff.

(yy) I. A. XX. pp. 6-7.

The second date is contained in another charter of Vishṇuvardhana II. obtained apparently from Maṭṭewāḍa in the Kistna district. (z) The inscription records a grant made by the king, *ātmanō vijaya rājya pañchamē samvatsare Phālguna-māse amāvāsya-gāmin Sūrya-grahana nimittam*, "in the year, which is the fifth year of my own victorious reign, in the month Phālguna, on the new-moon *tithi*, on account of an eclipse of the sun." Fleet found an eclipse of the sun in Phālguna which was in suitable accordance with his theory and with the details of the earlier date of the second year of the same reign. According to his computation, the eclipse of the sun occurred in S. S. 589 expired on the *purnimanta* Phālguna *kṛishṇa* new-moon, corresponding to the 17th February A. D. 668. On this day, however, there was an annular eclipse of the sun, *but it was not visible anywhere in or near India*. Nevertheless, Fleet accepted this eclipse of the sun of the 17th February A. D. 668 as the real equivalent of the date mentioned in the Maṭṭewāḍa plates. And accordingly he indicated, putting these two results together that the accession of Vishṇuvardhana II. took place in A. D. 663, on some day between Phālguna *śukla* 1, of S. S. 584 expired and Chaitra *śukla* 10 of S. S. 585 expired, the corresponding English period being, from the 14th February to the 24th March A. D. 663.

III

I must reject all these results. A few words are, therefore, necessary here to present the results which I put forward as the correct ones in direct comparison with those of Dr. Fleet that I reject. The Satāra copper-plate grant describes Vishṇuvardhana as *yuvārāja* of his elder brother Pulikēsin II. The charter was issued from Kurumarathi or Kurumarathya *vishaya*; the village granted lay on the southern bank of river Bhīmarathi, in the Gulbarga district of the Nizams Dominions. These facts alone are sufficient to show that the locality of the authority of *yuvārāja* Vishṇuvardhana *Vishamasiddhi* at that time was in Kuntala on the west, where the river Bhīma flowed into the Krishna, and was therefore, within a short radius of the seat of the Western Chalukya sovereignty. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Karttika, in the eighth year of the victorious reign of the *Mahārāja*, meaning Pulikēsin II. The eighth year of Pulikēsin II. corresponds to A. D. 617-618, corresponding to S. S. 539 in accordance with the results we have obtained regarding the starting-point of his reign. The full-moon day of the month Karttika of S. S. 539 expired, which may be taken to fall in the eighth year, corresponds to Wednesday, the 19th October, A.D. 617, when there was also an eclipse

of the moon on that date. (a) If then Vishṇuvardhana I. was the *yuvārāja* of his elder brother ruling over the Kurumarathya *vishaya*, it is doubtless that he was not then in charge of the vast kingdom of Vēṅgi on the east. It is therefore certain that by that time there had been no actual separation, formal or otherwise, of the two kingdoms Vēṅgi and Kuntala and, that Pulikēśin II. was then reigning as the paramount sovereign of the entire Chālukya empire in the Dekhan. It is also obvious that Vishṇuvardhana I. was not in exclusive charge of the distant Vēṅgi as Fleet without any basis, supposes, but that he was assisting his elder brother in the administration of the kingdom in a subordinate capacity. The formal separation of the two branches of the Chālukya family, therefore, took place apparently, sometime after the date of the Satara grant; and thus the separate sovereignty of the Eastern branch under Kubja Vishṇuvardhana in Vēṅgi was established not from the month Vaiśākha in S. S. 537 expired, corresponding to March-April, A. D. 615, during the heir-apparentship of Vishṇuvardhana as Fleet wrongly believes, but from some date which still remains to be determined as closely as possible after the date of the Satara grant.

Thus two facts become plain and quite undisputed, *firstly*, the so called separation, formal or otherwise, of the two branches of the Chālukya family took place sometime after the 19th October A. D. 617, the date of the Satara grant, and *secondly* the commencement of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. as paramount sovereign in Vēṅgi synchronised with the formal separation of the two branches of the Chālukya family.

The materials for determining precisely the period within which the starting point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign in an independent capacity as *Mahārāja* lay, are to be found in his own Cipurupalli grant and also in the other records of his grandson Vishṇuvardhana II. already noticed. We shall examine these dates once again.

In the Cipurupalli plates the details of the date given, are the year 18, the month 4 and the date 15. But the actual month is Śravana, which is really the *fifth* month in the luni-solar year; and the actual date is mentioned as the full-moon day, which is the fifteenth *tithi* according to the *amānta* arrangement and the thirtieth day according to the *īpūrṇimānta* arrangement of fortnights of Śravana the fifth month. But the details of the date in question are to be interpreted as meaning, which seems to be the real meaning, the eighteenth year, the fourth month, and the fifteenth day and *not* eighteen completed years,

(a) It is just possible that the words *chandra-grahana nimittam* were omitted by the careless scribe after the words *Karttika-purnamasyayam*.

four completed months and the fifteenth day of the fifth month. This interpretation obviously involves two assumptions, viz., that the starting-point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign was the *amānta* Vaiśākha *śukla* 1, and that the luni-solar year in the Eastern Chalukya Chronology was reckoned by the *amānta* arrangement of fortnights. Further, the eclipse of the moon on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa which synchronises with the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the eighteenth year cannot be equated to the eclipse of the 7th July A. D. 632 as that year plainly lies in the fourteenth year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, even if it be accepted that the formal separation of the two branches took place almost immediately after the date of the Satara grant.

The eclipse of the moon of the 7th July A. D. 632 corresponding to the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa of S.S.534, therefore, cannot be the real equivalent of the Cipurupalli grant, and consequently has to be rejected. There were no eclipses of the moon on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa in the succeeding years until we come to S.S.563 expired, when there occurred an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa, the corresponding English date being, Friday, the 27th July A.D. 641. This eclipse was visible all over India and was, therefore, an important event. This eclipse of the moon of 27th July A. D. 641 obviously stands in the approximate period within which we have to look for the starting-point of the reign of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. If Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 15 (full-moon day) of S. S. 563 expired corresponding to July 27, A. D. 641 belongs to the *eighteenth* year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, then the full moon day of the *amānta* Śrāvaṇa of S. S. 546 expired falls in the first year. Thus it is plain that the initial year of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. began with the *amānta* Vaiśākha *śukla* 1, i. e. the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *amānta* Vaiśākha of S.S. 546 expired, the corresponding English equivalent being Monday, March 26, A. D. 624. Consequently Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, as paramount sovereign in Vēṅgi, began his reign in A. D. 624, roughly fourteen years after the commencement of the reign of his elder brother Pulikēśin II. and six years after the date of his own Satara grant.

With this result as our basis and guide, we shall now consider the two later dates of the time of Vishṇuvardhana II. which are undoubtedly of leading importance, and determine their real equivalents; and then with these results test the correctness of the initial point of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign. The first date as has been stated above is recorded in the Rēyūru grant as Wednesday, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra with the moon under the Maghā *nakṣatra* in the augmenting second year of the victorious reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. With the earliest starting-point that has been proposed for the years of

Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, that *amānta* Vaiśācha *śukla* 1 of S.S. 546 expired, and with the period recorded in a majority of charters for the intervening reign of Jayasimha I. viz., thirty-three years,^(b) and one full year for the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. the year in which this date falls has to be looked for about the year, S.S. 546+18+33+1=S.S. 596 expired. By the ordinary method of addition we get the total S.S. 598, but now the figure S.S. 596 is actually short of two years. This method of reckoning is suggested, partly by the manner in which the reigns are mostly stated only in even years without fractions, and partly, by the results obtained below for the dates of Vishṇuvardhana I. and his grandson Vishṇuvardhana II. This method obviously involves an assumption that the reigns of Vishṇuvardhana I. and his son Jayasimha I. though stated in even years as eighteen and thirty-three years respectively, may have actually fallen short by several months in each case. This involves further two suppositions, namely, that, irrespective of the actual days or months of their accession or coronation in the Śaka years, the Eastern Chālukya kings may have possibly been in the habit of reckoning their regnal years that coincided with the luni-solar Śaka years commencing with Chaitra *śukla* 1; and that, it happened in almost all cases that one reign ended and another commenced in the same Śaka year, which was reckoned as the last regnal year of the deceased king and as the first regnal year of his successor. This method seems to be the *real* one we ought to apply to the details given in all the grants and is the *only* manner to adjust the chronology of the members of this dynasty. Thus if the year S.S. 563 expired fell in the eighteenth year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana it was also the first regnal year of his son and successor Jayasimha I. From S.S. 546 to S.S. 563, both years inclusive, there were altogether 18 Śaka years, and thus the duration of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign was computed as 18 years, irrespective of its actual length. Similarly the last year of Jayasimha I. was also reckoned as the first regnal year of his successor Vishṇuvardhana II. Between S.S. 563 expired and S.S. 595 expired, both years inclusive, there were 33 Śaka years, which were reckoned as the length of reign of the Jayasimha I. viz., 33 years, regardless of the actual length.

Thus if the year S.S. 595 expired fell in the first year then S.S. 596 expired was plainly the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II. In the latter year, the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 10 fell on Wednesday, corresponding to the English equivalent March 22, A.D. 674. There was Chaitra *śukla* 10th *tithi* on that day and the Maghā *nakshatra* for the

(b) Only two grants of Ammarāja I. and three of his younger step-brother Chālukya Bhima II., alone of all the Eastern Chālukya grants, record a reign of thirty years to Jayasimha I.

moon by all the three systems. By the *Sūryasiddhānta* system of equal spaces Chaitra *śukla* 10 began on Wednesday, March 22, A.D. 674 at 7 *ghaṭikas* 18 *palas* after mean sunrise and lasted till 1 *ghaṭika* 24 *palas* on Thursday, March 23; and the moon entered the Maghā *nakṣatra* at 50 *ghaṭikas* 34 *palas* on Wednesday. By the *Āryasiddhānta* system of equal spaces Chaitra *śukla* 10 began on the same day at 8 *ghaṭikas* 21 *palas* and ended at 2 *ghaṭikas* 34 *palas* on Thursday, March 23; and the moon entered the Maghā *nakṣatra* on Wednesday at 51 *ghaṭikas* 36 *palas* after mean sunrise. By the *Brahmasiddhānta* of unequal spaces the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 10 began on that date at 9 *ghaṭikas* 2 *palas* and lasted till 1 *ghaṭika* 59 *palas* on Thursday; and there was the Maghā *nakṣatra* for the moon at 12 *ghaṭikas* 54 *palas* on Wednesday after mean sunrise.^(c) Calculation for the period under consideration must be made either by the mean computation of the first *Āryasiddhānta*, or by the *Brahmasiddhānta* which was compiled in A. D. 628 ^(d), or by both. By computation according to the *Brahmasiddhānta*, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra and the Maghā *nakṣatra* for the moon were concurrent on Wednesday, 22, A. D. 674, throughout the whole day from about 12 noon onwards. That was also the day of the occurrence of *Mēṣha Samkrānti*, and even by computation according to the *First Āryasiddhānta* the time of the *Mēṣha samkrānti* was at 12 hours 27 minutes 30 seconds after mean sunrise on that Wednesday, March 22, A.D.^(e) Viṣṇuvardhana II. seems therefore, to have made the charity recorded in the Rēyūru grant on the occasion of the *Mēṣha samkrānti*, on the Wednesday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of Ś.S. 596 expired, the corresponding English equivalent being March 22, A. D. 674, which was the first *Mēṣha samkrānti* after his accession, in the second year of his prosperous reign. It is thus obvious that this is the real equivalent of the date mentioned in the Rēyūru grant. If Chaitra *śukla* 10 of Ś.S. 596 expired fell in the second year of Viṣṇuvardhana II. then the starting-point of his reign may have lain sometime in the preceding Śaka year, i. e. Ś.S. 595 expired, as has been shown above roughly in the latter part of A.D. 673.

The details of the second date contained in the Maṭṭewāḍa plates are mentioned as, the eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of Phālguna, in the augmenting fifth year of the victorious reign. There were no eclipses of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of Phālguna either by the *pūrṇimānta* or the *amānta* arrangement of fortnights from Ś.S. 573 expired (A. D. 651-52) to Ś. S. 598 expired (A. D. 676-77), which were

(c) I am greatly indebted to my friend Pandit D. Vireswara Sastri of Rajahmundry for these and all other calculations which I have adopted in this paper and for several valuable suggestions.

(d) *E. I.* XIX p. 261.

(e) *E.I.* XVII p. 41.

visible anywhere in or near India. Consequently the eclipse of the new-moon, in the fifth year of Vishnuvardhana II. could not have occurred between these two limits, and should therefore be looked for, beyond the year S.S. 598 expired. In S. S. 599 expired there was a total eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna, corresponding to Thursday, January 28, A. D. 678. The first contact of the sun was roughly at 16 hours 24 minutes after mean sunrise for Vēṅḡipura or Vijayavāḍa (Bezwada, which was then the capital, and the totality occurred towards evening, approximately eighteen minutes after sunset. It was visible all over India; and was doubtless a very notable event for the Andhra country. This date and the eclipse are within approximate period of five years or under, from the starting-point we have determined for the period of Vishnuvardhana II. If the new-moon *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna of S. S. 599 expired lay in the fifth year, and the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of S.S. 596 expired lay in the second year, then the starting point of the reign of Vishnuvardhana II. doubtless might have lain sometime in the latter part of śaka year S. S. 595 expired, the corresponding period in the Christian era being from September A. D. 673 to January 28, A.D. 674. Thus obviously, the eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna of S.S. 599, expired corresponding to Thursday, January 28, A. D. 678 is the correct and the real equivalent of the date of Maṭṭewāḍa plates of Vishnuvardhana II dated in the fifth year of his reign.

This result is supported by two other important dates recorded in the newly discovered grants belonging to the reign of Vishnuvardhana II. himself.^(f) The former two were found together at Pamiḍimukkala of the Nuzwid Zamindari, in the Kistna district. One of them (C.P. No. 15 of 1916-17) is dated in the third year of the king, and records the grant of twelve *khaṇḍikas* of land in Panṭimukku, apparently the ancient name for Pamiḍimukku, to the brahman Bhavaśarman of the Vatsa *gōṭra* and a student of the *Vājasaṇēya-charaṇa* on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The month is not specified and we are, therefore, left to conjecture. With the result that has been obtained for the starting-point of the reign of Vishnuvardhana II., as our basis, we get S.S. 597 expired as the third year of his victorious reign. And in the latter part of S.S. 597 there was an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, the corresponding English date being the 10th September, A. D. 675; and this seems to be really the date of this record. The second record is also loosely dated: it records the gift of a piece of land, twelve *khaṇḍikas* in extent, in the same

(f) C.Ps. Nos. 15 & 16 of 1916-17: See A.R.E. 1917, P. 8. p. 115-16.

(ff) E.I. vol. VIII p. 232, text lines 39-40.

village to a certain brahman Kutthisarman, a resident of Ōkōḍu on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Kārttika in an unspecified regnal year. Vishṇuvardhana II reigned only for nine years; and during this period there were only two eclipses of the moon on Kārttika full-moon *tithi*: one in S. S. 595 *expired*, corresponding to Sunday, October, 30, A. D. 673 and another in S. S. 604 *expired*, corresponding to Tuesday, October, 21, A. D. 682. With the result obtained as regards the probable period of the commencement of the years of Vishṇuvardhana II., S.S. 604 and the eclipse of the moon of Kārttika full-moon *tithi* of that year lie evidently beyond the pale of the nine years of Vishṇuvardhana II. Consequently the lunar eclipse of the Kārttika full-moon *tithi* of an unspecified regnal year seems to belong to the first year of his reign, and to occur possibly a short time after his accession to the throne. It is possible, therefore, that the initial point of Vishṇuvardhana II.'s reign lay in or about the month Āsvayuja of S.S. 595 expired, corresponding to September, A. D. 673. And leaving aside for the present the consideration of the seven days' reign of the third king Indrarāja, the period of thirty-three years of the intervening king Jayasimha I. may be assumed to have commenced roughly in the month of Āsvayuja of S.S. 563 expired, corresponding to September, A.D. 641, plainly before the close of the eighteenth year of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. As the lengths of the successive reigns of all kings of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty were recorded, as has been stated above, only in even years without fractions, and by reckoning the number of luni-solar śaka years that were covered by the reign, we have to assume that the reigns of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and his son Jayasimha I. were corrected to full eighteen, and completed thirty-three years, even though they were actually short by several months in each case.

IV

It is now necessary to test the several postulates advanced and the results obtained by computing the astronomical details of dates of the reigns of the early Eastern Chāḷukya kings, with the aid of other dates of the succeeding reigns, namely of Sarvalōkaśraya, Jayasimha II., Vishṇuvardhana III. and Chāḷukya Bhima I., mentioned with similar details which yield to computation and verification.

The Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkaśraya record an eclipse on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the second year of the prosperous reign.^(g) If S.S. 595 expired is reckoned as the first year of Vishṇuvardhana II. then the ninth year of his reign would fall in S. S. 603 expired; and if we assume further that his reign lasted till the end of

(g) *E. I.*, VIII. p. 232 f.

the cyclic year and ended roughly in the last fortnight of Phalgunā,—be it *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*,—then the *first* year of Mangi Yuvarāja i.e., Sarvalōkāśraya apparently commenced with the month Chaitra of S.S. 604 expired. The second year of Sarvalōkāśraya then fell in S. S. 605; and in that year curiously enough there occurred an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the corresponding English date for the day being Thursday, the 17th April, A. D. 683. It is therefore plain that this date is the correct equivalent of the date recorded in the Chendalūr plates. According to the chronology proposed by Dr. Fleet the reign of Sarvalōkāśraya falls between S. S. 595 current i.e. 594 expired and S. S. 619 current or S. S. 618 expired, the corresponding period in the Christian era being A.E. 672-73 to 696-97.^(gg) If S. S. 595 current was the first year, the Śaka year 596 current or A.D. 673-4 would be the second year of Sarvalōkāśraya; and in that year there was no eclipse of the moon on the Vaiśākha fullmoon day. Further there were no eclipses of moon in Vaiśākha in any of the years that intervene between S. S. 587 expired and S. S. 604 expired. Thus it is obvious that the reign of Sarvalōkāśraya did not lie in the period allotted to it by Dr. Fleet, and that the latter's chronology therefore which does not accomodate any of the other leading dates of importance of the Eastern Chālukya grants turns out to be utterly incorrect.^(h)

Next in order comes the Penukapaṅḡu grant of Jayasimha II. which gives details of the date that yield to calculation. The details are the month Jyēshṭha and the fullmoon day coupled with the Mithuna Saṁkrānti. According to the three systems the *Sūrya*, *Ārya* and *Brahma Siddhāntas*, the Mithuna Saṁkrānti occurred on the fullmoon day of Jyēshṭha in the Śaka year 637 expired, the English equivalent of the date being 22nd May A. D. 715. But according to the *Brahmasiddhānta* alone the Mithuna Saṁkrānti also occurred on the Jyēshṭha fullmoon *tithi*, of S.S. 629 corresponding to the English date, 21st May A.D. 707. As the regnal year of the king is not mentioned, it is impossible to determine which of these two dates was the real equivalent of the Mithuna Saṁkrānti on the Jyēshṭha fullmoon *tithi* recorded in the Penukapaṅḡu grant. But since it appears that *Brahmasiddhānta* was the system that was in vogue in Āndhra country in the seventh century A.D. from the calculation of the dates mentioned in Rēyūru and the

(gg) I.A., XX. p. 13.

(h) Mr. Somaśekhara Sarma also is not able to find an equivalent for the eclipse of the moon on Vaiśākha fullmoon day in the second year of Sarvalōkāśraya's reign even according to his scheme of Chronology which he recently propounded. It is regrettable that he easily brushes aside the details of the date as unworkable, and offers no explanation either for this glaring discrepancy in his scheme of arrangement. It is also unfortunate that his adjustment of the earlier reigns up to Chālukya Bhima I. does not also admit of any of the four given dates of Vishṇuvardhana II's charters.

Matṭewāḍa grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II. it is probable that the earlier, date may have been the real equivalent of the date of the Penukapaṅṅu grant of Jayasimha II., though both easily fall within the period of the reign allotted to the king in the scheme of chronology proposed by me. Accordingly, it appears that the Penukapaṅṅu grant was made in the second year of the reign of Jayasimha II.

But the adjustment of reigns proposed by me does not seem to admit of two dates, mentioned below, apparently of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III. One of them is afforded by the chronogram 'Svādita' recorded in the Musinikōṇḍa grant (now Madras Museum plates) of Viṣṇuvardhana III.⁽ⁱ⁾ I believe the reading of the word as *Svādita* to be untenable, and a careful examination of the record plainly shows that the composer of the grant knew so little Sanskrit that he committed innumerable orthographical mistakes. Here is the relevant passage which contains the chronogram.

1. 11.स्वादि(दि)त मार्गशीर्षमास बहुल (ठ)

1. 12. द्वादशी पूर्वार्ह (हे)

I have not personally examined the writing on the plate but I have considered the transcript of the grant which the Govt. Epigraphist for India had kindly lent me for the purpose, and the above passage is quoted from that. It seems to me that the reading of the chronogram as 'svādita' is untenable and that the phrase ought to be read as 'svāḍhita'. The alteration in the reading is of minor or no importance from the point of epigraphy. The meaningless word *svāḍhita* as a chronogram yields the figure 644 (*svā* = 4, *ḍhā* = 4, *ta* = 6)* and the year S. S. 644 current corresponding to A. D. 721-22 falls in the fourth year of reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III. according to the chronology proposed by me. The grant in question was made in the forenoon of the twelfth

(i) C.P. No. 9 of 1916-17, A.R.E. 1917 p. 116, paragraph 21.

* See Dr. Burnell's *South India Palaeography*, p. 76 for a full explanation of the system of notation by which numerals are expressed. One of the systems of notation is the Chronogram system commonly used in South India for expressing dates. According to this system all the 33 consonants have their respective numerical values as shown below when they are used in phrases or chronograms to express date.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa	ca	cha	ja	jha	ṇa
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	ṇa
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma	...	...	...	...	...
ya	ra	la	va	ṣa	sa	ṣa	ha	...	...

But when double letters occur in any chronogram as in the present case the numerical value of the second letter alone is to be taken into consideration.

tithi in the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, in Śaka Samvat 644 *current*, and the corresponding English date was 21st November, A. D. 721. It is very curious that according to the *Brahmasiddhānta*, which was evidently the system that was in vogue at that time in Āndhradēśa, the *Dharmasamkrānti* took place on that day, and the actual *samkrānti* moment was about 9 *ghatikas* and 6 *palas* after mean sunrise. It was on that auspicious occasion that queen Ayyaṇa Mahādēvī made a grant of the whole village of Musinikonda as a *dēvabhōga* to the Jaina temple Naḍumba-*vasati* at Bijavāḍa (Bezavada) for the speedy recovery of the king Viṣṇuvardhana III., her grandson's grandson, who perhaps lay then dangerously ill, and apparently with his permission.(i) This date seems to be reasonably the correct equivalent of the date recorded in the Musinikonda grant, for if the chronogram is taken to be '*svādita*', the 12th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa of S. S. 684, does not yield the *samkrānti* equivalent as in the year S.S. 644. Further the year S.S. 684 falls in the reign of Vijayāditya Bhāṭṭāraka I., son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana III., according to the scheme of adjustment of the reigns adopted both by me and Dr. Fleet as well.

The other date, which seems to be incompatible with the adjustment of the chronology proposed below, is found in a stone record in archaic Telugu characters, set up in the temple of Siddheśvara at Terala, near Pōlepalli in Palnāḍ taluk, Guntur district. It belongs to the reign of a certain Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja. The details of the date are: the cyclic year Bahudhānya *sanvatsara*, fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Sunday, in the fifth year victorious year of reign.(ii) This is the earliest record since the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana II. which gives complete astronomical details together with the regnal year. The record is still unpublished; and I have not had an opportunity of examining either the stone record or its estampage. With due deference to the Government Epigraphist who discovered, and read the inscription *in situ*, I feel I should express a strong doubt as to the correctness of the reading of the numerical figure denoting the regnal year. From the point of view of the Eastern Chālukya chronology, the date of this record is very important: in the whole range of three centuries between the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana II. and that of Chālukya Bhīma I. the years A. D. 679-80, 739-40, 799-800, 859-60 and 919-20 alone coincide with the cyclic year Bahudhānya; and further during these five years, only in A. D. 739 and 859, does the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika equate with the week-day Sunday. As the characters of the record are said to be very

(i) C. P. No, 9 of 1916-17, text line 24.

(ii) *Ep. Colln.* No. 80 of 1929-30; *A.R.E.* 1930.

archaic Telugu, it is not unreasonable to prefer the earlier date A. D. 739 to the later one. The corresponding English date for this Kārttika *śukla* 5, Sunday, in Bahudhānya *samvatsara* is, 11th October, A. D. 739 and the corresponding Saka year is 661 expired. This date falls in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III. according to the scheme proposed below; but the year happens to be *not the 5th year* of victorious reign, but the 21st year. It seems for more than one reason that this record and date belong to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III. The other year, A. D. 859 falls in the reign of Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya, who is not anywhere described with the epithet *Sarvalōkāśraya* and the secondary name Vishṇuvardhana in the Eastern Chalukya records. The epithet that is found constantly attached to his name is *Samastabhuvanāśraya* in the records of his time and family. Thus the only way in which the regnal years of the date of this record can be reconciled seems to be to interpret the two strokes of the numerical figure read now as 5 as 21; and there is no other way than this in which the numerical figure can be interpreted.^(k)

Now there remain two more dates for consideration which serve as important land-marks in the Eastern Chalukya Chronology. These dates seem as it were to circumscribe the limits within which the reigns of the intervening kings up to Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II. have to be allotted. The first is the date of the coronation of Chalukya Bhīma I. recorded in his Attili grant.^(kk) The record was brought to light by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., in 1916 and published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.^(l) This date was not known to Dr. Fleet when he published the Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas. The second date is that of the coronation of Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II. recorded in the Paḍamkalūru granted of the king edited by Dr. Fleet,^(m) and found also in the Maliyampūṇḍi⁽ⁿ⁾ and Vamdrām plates^(o) of the same monarch.

In the Attili plates, the date of Chalukya Bhīma's coronation is recorded in the following passage: "*Manuvāsusamprāptē (śhu*) Chaitrē cha Maitrē Śāśinē Śāśidinē kṛṣṇapakṣa-dvītiyē yugm arakṣaṣy = ōḍgamēdhāt paṭṭam = āchandra-tūraṁ*": i.e. Saka Samvat 814 Mēsha-Chaitra, *ba. di. dvītiya*, Monday, when the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Maitrā (Anūrādhā). If we mistake *Mēsha-Chaitra* to be the ordinary

(k) I have proceeded on the assumption that the numerical 5 is expressed by a figure.

(kk) C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18: *Jour. of the Tel. Academy*, VI pp. 246. ff.

(l) VIII, p. 82 ff.

(m) *I.A.* XIX, p. 102 f.; *Ibid.* XX, p. 271. f.

(n) *E.I.* IX, p. 55 f.

(o) *Ibid.* IX, p. 134 f.

luni-solar month Chaitra, we do not obtain the equivalent of the date in question; therefore *Mēsha-Chaitra* has to be understood to mean the solar month *Mēsha* or *Mēsha-Chaitra*, which commences with the *Mēsha-samkrānti* or the Sun's entrance into the sign *Mēsha*, i.e. Aries. The date then corresponds to the 2nd day of the dark fortnight (*krishṇa-paksha-dvitiya*) of the luni-solar month *Vaiśākha*, when the week-day happens to be Monday and the *nakshatra* *Maitra* (*Anūrādhā*) in S.S. 814 expired, and the corresponding English date is Monday, April 17 A. D. 892.(p) And as we shall presently notice all the reigns of the thirteen preceding kings beginning with Kubja Vishṇuvardhana can be easily adjusted within this date; and the chronology proposed below is, not in the least incompatible with this date of the accession of Chālukya Bhīma I.

The second date is that of the coronation of Ammarāja II. that is given in the following passage which occurs in the Paḍamkatūru and other charters of the king: *Sṁkhyābhṛt śakasmāyē Mārgaśīrṣamāsē = smin krishṇapakṣa trayōlāī dinē Bhṛguvārō Maitra nakshatra Dhanuṣī ravan Ghoṭalagnē*; i.e. Saka Samvat 867 (expired), the month *Mārgaśīrṣa*, the thirteenth day in the dark fortnight, *Bhṛguvāra* or Friday, when the moon was in the *Anūrādhā nakshatra*, when the Sun was in *Dhanuṣ*, and during the rising sign of *Kumbha*. The corresponding English date for these details is Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945.(q)

The dates of coronation of Vimalāditya, Rājārāja, Vijayāditya VIII. and Śaktivarman II. are not important from the point of view of the scheme of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology now adopted. Further, these dates, like that of the coronation of Ammarāja II, are not at all incompatible with the adjustment of reigns shown below, but what is remarkable, is that they fall in line exactly with the assumptions adopted by me, in this revision of the Eastern Chālukya Chronology. They are:—(1). The Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya gives the date of the king's coronation in the following passage: *Anul = ānala rāmadhira-gatē Śakavarṣhē Vṛṣhabhamāsē sitapakṣhē; yash-shṛṅghyām Gūrupushyē Simhēlagnē prasāddham abhishikṭaḥ*; Saka Samvat 933, in the month *Vṛṣhabha*, on Thursday the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight, when the moon was in *Pushya nakshatra*, and in the rising sign *Simha*. According to Prof. Kielhorn, these details with a slight variation in the *tithi* as *panchami*-(5th), correspond to Thursday, 10th May, A.D. 1011.(r) (2). Rājārāja's coronation according to his Kōrumilli plates took

(p) *A.R.E.*, 1918, *App. E.* p. 126.

(q) *I. A.* XIX, p. 102 f.

(r) *E. I.*, VI, p. 348 ff.

place in S.S. 944, when the Sun was in Simha, i.e., the solar month Bhādra-pada, on the second *tithi* in the dark fortnight, Guruvāra or Thursday, when the moon was in the Uttara-Bhādrā *nakshatra*, and during the rising of the sign Tula; and the corresponding English date which Dr. Fleet had calculated was Thursday, the 16th August, A. D. 1022.(s)

(3). The date of Vijayāditya VIII's coronation is mentioned in the king's Pāmulavāka grant, in the following passage: *Śākē samaughē dygishu-nidhimitē Karkigē Karkaśāmānu.....suddha-paichamy-Aditisuta dinē Sūryabhē ..Kanyālaguē*: 'Saka Samvat 953, (if the word *dyk* be taken to represent 3 instead of 2), in the solar month Karkātāka, when the Sun was in the sign Karkātāka on the 5th *tithi* in the bright fortnight, on Aditisutadina or Sunday, when the *nakshatra* was Hastā, and during the rising of the sign Kanyā; and the corresponding English date is Sunday, June 27, A. D. 1031. (t)

(4). The Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II. record the date of the coronation of the king and the details are as follows: *Gunavasū nidhi samkhyān yāti śākābdavargē divasakṛti Tulāsthē...Anūrādihā śuklapaksha dvitīyāyujī Suraguruvarē Kumhalaṅgē = bhiskihṭol*": S.S. 983 in the Solar month Tula, when the Sun was in the sign Tula, on Suraguruvara or Thursday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, when the *nakshatra* was Anūrādihā, during the rising of the sign Kumbha; and the corresponding English date according to my calculation is Thursday, 18th October, A. D. 1061.(u)

V

With the leading dates down to the accession of Chalukya Bhīma I. correctly determined, and with the dates which have been shown above to be the days of the coronation of Vijayāditya-Amma-rāja II., Vimalāditya and Vishṇuvardhana-Rājārāja and the rest, we shall now adjust the beginning and the end of each successive reign. But here we are confronted in the task with two seeming discrepancies in the statement of the regnal years of some of the intervening rulers. Anterior to the reign of Chalukya Bhīma I the only difficulty, apart from the fact that some of the periods are stated only in even years without fractions, is in respect of the reign of Narēndramrgarāja-Vijayāditya II. And likewise, anterior to the reign of Ammarāja II.,

(s) I. A. XIX, p. 129 f.

(t) J. A. H. R. S., V, pp 38 ff. The date had been wrongly equated in the first instance to Thursday, 9th July, A.D. 1030 by me, on the assumption that *Aditi-sutadina* meant Thursday; but later, I felt a doubt and requested the Epigraphist Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, who kindly verified the details and correctly equated them to the date given above.

(u) J. A. H. R. S., V, pp. 38 ff : (40).

there seems to be some difficulty in respect of the short reigns of Bēta Vijayāditya, Tādapa, Vikramāditya II., Bhīma III. and lastly Yuddhamalla II.

The records of the family are not unanimous as to the length of the reign of Vijayāditya II. Whilst all the earlier charters from the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III. to Ammarāja I., record a reign of forty years, the later records give a period of forty-eight years; and a solitary grant of Ammarāja I. gives a reign of forty-four years. These discrepancies are indeed curious; and doubtless are the result of mistakes made by the careless and confused writers. They are not, however, inexplicable. It would be easy enough to make a mistake between forty and forty-four years; thus owing to the recurrence of the letter *ścha*, the stupid scribe might very unwittingly write on the plate, "*Vijayādityaś-chatus-chatvārīmśatam*," (forty-four) for "*Vijayādityas-chatvārīmśatam* (forty). In the same manner, the scribe might well make a mistake in copying the expression by inserting '*ashṭa*' between the words, as "*Vijayāditya-Narēndramrgirājās-ch = āshṭa-chatvārīmśatam*,"^(v) or "*Vijayādityas-s = āshṭa-chatvārīmśatam*,"^(w) But the Masulipatam grant of Ammarāja I., which stands alone by itself, instead of using a formal expression like others, states in verse that Vijayāditya-Narēndramrgarāja reigned for forty years increased by four, as "*sa chatvārīmśat-simūn-chaturuttara simkhyātam*."^(x) This cannot obviously be a literal mistake of a careless scribe. Nevertheless, the statement cannot be accepted as the correct one. The only possible explanation for this error is that, in addition to actually reigning *forty* years, Vijayāditya II. had previously ruled as the heir-apparent for four years during the closing years of his father. And the mistake in the later charters from the time of Chalukya Bhīma II. arose apparently out of the scribe's ignorance and erroneous adding of the four years' heir-apparentship or *Yauvarājājya* to the forty-four years of his reign. I am, therefore, strongly inclined to think that in spite of these discrepancies, which crept into the records from the time of Ammarāja I., the statements of the earlier charters up to the time of the Masulipatam plates of Ammarāja I. referred to above, are correct, and that the length of the reign of Vijayāditya II. is but *forty* years. If we look to such details and assumptions as have been considered in the arrangement of reigns, forty years is the only period that fits in at all, most naturally in this Chronology. A reign of forty-eight years

(v) *I. A.* VII. p. 15 lines 11-12.

(w) *E. I.* V. p. 134, ll. 11-12.

(x) *S. I. I.* I, No. 36 p. 36 lines 14-15

cannot be allowed without making such reductions in the reigns of the successors of Vishnuvardhana II., as practically to shorten some of them by at least a full year. Thus a period of forty-four or forty-eight years seems to be an impossible length, following in a new generation of Vijayāditya II. after the reigns of thirty-seven, eighteen and thirty-six years, in three successive generations. And even by the rough and ready method of making the last year of one reign and the first year of the next following coincide (which we have adopted,) it is difficult to admit forty-four or forty-eight years as the duration of the reign of Narēndramrgaraja-Vijayāditya II. without reducing the periods of some of the earlier reigns. On the contrary this manner of counting the regnal years makes it easy as has been shown above, to admit thirty-three years to Jayasimha I.; and this does not also entail whatsoever, any strain upon the facts mentioned in the records. More than that, this conclusion is supported by other charters. The first king of the family to give a complete list of the kings that preceded him, beginning with Kubja Vishnuvardhana, in a chronological order with the duration of their reigns and an account of their exploits in the form of a statement in the formal preamble, which was merely copied by the writers of the later charters, was Guṇagamka Vijayāditya III.^(a) He was a grandson of Narēndramrgaraja-Vijayāditya II., and he ascended the throne within eighteen months after the latter's death. And this illustrious prince, who commanded the preamble of his formal charters to be recast with a high historic sense and noble pride, by the inclusion of all the available traditional history of his ancestors, gives only a period of *forty* years to Narēndramrgaraja Vijayāditya II. Thus it is evident, that forty years is the correct and real length of the reign of Vijayāditya II.

The second apparent difficulty is in respect of the short reigns, commencing from that of Kanṭhika Bēta-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya V. to Yuddhamalla II. Some records of the dynasty assign in the succeeding generations after Ammaraja I., a reign of fortnight to Bēta Vijayāditya, one month to Tādapa, one year or eleven months to Vikramāditya II., eight months to Bhīma III. and seven years to Yuddhamalla II. As regards the first two reigns, of Vijayāditya V. and Tādapa, there is no discrepancy at all, as all the records are unanimous in their statements. In respect of the reign of Vikramāditya II., the Kaluchumbāṅḡu grant of Amma II. alone states that he reigned for nine months,^(b) while

(a) Dr. Fleet was not aware of this fact. See the Sataluru grant of Vijayāditya III. (*J.A.H.R.S.*, V. pp. 100-18/),

(b) *E. I.* VII. p. 177 ff. text lines 30-31.

the Pāṇavaram, (c) and the Masulipatam plates of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. (d) and all the later charters, allot a period of eleven months, and the Kōlavennu grant of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. (e) and one or two other records of Ammarāja II. assign a full year. (f) Dr. Fleet correctly took the statement of the majority,—eleven months,—for these slight discrepancies are trivial, and only show the existence of some difficulty or confusion in correctly estimating the length of this king's reign, probably on account of the wars of succession between the several claimants at the time. The next disputed reign is that of Bhīma III. the younger son of Ammarāja I., of eight months, mentioned in a solitary grant of Chāḷukya Bhīma II (g) In all the other charters of the family this reign is altogether omitted; and the statement of eleven months' reign of Vikramāditya II. is followed by another, which omitted entirely the reigns of Bhīma III. and Yuddhamalla II. in some records. (h) These records state that after the death of Vikramāditya II., "all the rival kinsmen who were intent upon causing distress to the people and who were desirous of the kingdom, viz. Yuddhamalla II., Rājamārtāṇḍa, Kanṭhika-Bēta Vijayāditya and others fought for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like *Rākshasas* at the setting of the sun. Thus in mere war five years passed away. Then arose Rāja Bhīma, i.e., Chāḷukya Bhīma II. who slew Rājamārtāṇḍa and made Yuddhamalla II. and Kanṭhika-Bēta flee to a foreign country. (i) But some of the later records of Ammarāja II. omit the above statement and say that "Vikramāditya II. protected the kingdom for eleven months; and that after him Yuddhamalla II. ruled the earth for seven years." It is thus apparent from these statements which seem like discrepancies that, Bhīma III. did not hold the sovereignty exclusively, but that his short and uneventful reign was completely eclipsed by that of his slayer and successor Yuddhamalla II. And it is also obvious that Yuddhamalla II. successfully held the succession to the complete exclusion of all his opponents for full five years or even more. It is reasonable therefore, to assume that the reign of the boy king Bhīma III. was actually overlapped by that of his rival Yuddhamalla II. and that the latter's period of seven years was probably reckoned from

(c) *Ind. Ant.* XIII. p 213 ff, text lines 27-23.

(d) *E. I. V.* p. 134 ff, text line 17.

(e) *S. I. I.* I, No. 37, text line 16.

(f) *I. A.* XIII. p 243, text lines 17.; *S. I. I.*, I. No. 38.

(g) *I. A.* XIII 213.

(h) *E. I. IX.* p. 45 ff, *Ibid.* XVIII. p. 224 ff, lines 20-24.

(i) To convert the Saka years into the years A. D. the quantity to be added is 77 if they are *current* and 78 if they are *expired* years.

the time of the death of his father Tādapa in the month of Pausha, S. S. 849 expired, corresponding to December, A. D. 927.

VI

We accordingly obtain the results stated below. Partly to show the manner in which the details have been arranged, and partly to explain where there is apparently not always a uniform difference between the years in the Christian era and the Saka years, I have inserted English months with the years A. D. These months are not merely hypothetical but are closely the real dates for the successive kings of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. This arrangement, however, it may be noted, involves the assumptions stated already. But for the sake of clearness I shall repeat them here. The Eastern Chālukya kings adopted the *amānta* Chaitra *śukla* 1; i. e., the first day in the bright fortnight of the *amānta* Chaitra, which is the New Year's Day for Āndhradēśa, as the first day of each regnal year, and the whole of the luni-solar year in which the accession or at any rate the coronation of any particular king took place, was actually counted as the first year of his reign, even though it coincided with last year of the preceding reign, and that his second year was so reckoned as to commence with the Chaitra *śukla* 1, coming next after his coronation or accession. Consequently, from time to time, one and the same luni-solar Śaka year was counted twice over, as the last regnal year of one king and the first regnal year of his successor, especially when a change in the rulers took place about the middle of the luni-solar Śaka year. And, there were also exceptions in the case of short reigns which were merely recorded as such. But then, it was the usual custom and practice of the Eastern Chālukya kings of Vēṅgi to be associated in the administration of the kingdom with their heir-apparents, who towards the close of the reign of the king assumed the role of the *Mahārāja*, and then formally succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of the king. Thus it invariably occurred that, the first regnal year of a king coincided or rather synchronised with that of the last regnal of the preceding king, and they were accordingly reckoned.

Before this paper is concluded it is necessary to offer an explanation about the periods of the kings, from Dānaṛṇava to Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I. All the records of the family from the time of Śaktivarman I. are unanimous about two facts, relating to the periods of Dānaṛṇava and after. They are firstly, that Dānaṛṇava reigned for three years and secondly, that thereafter the kingdom of Vēṅgi was without a ruler (*anāyaka*) for a period of twenty seven years, and then, Śaktivarman I. seized the kingdom and crowned himself king. This period

of (*anāyaka*) or 'without a king' or *interregnum* as described by Dr. Fleet which had been for a long time supposed to be a period of anarchy in Andhra country, is now found to be not really *interregnum* but actually the period of Bādapa's reign. This fact has been satisfactorily established by the discovery of the Ārambāka plates of *Adhirāja* Bādapa, son of Yudhamalla II. and of the Śrīpūṇḍi plates of Bādapa's younger brother Tājarāja II. (i) Śaktivarman I. who succeeded Bādapa on the throne by crushing his power, ignored in contempt the reign of his bitter enemy who had for a quarter of a century kept him away from his rightful throne, and called it the period of *anāyaka* or without king. This description of the period of Bādapa was afterwards adopted by the writers of the royal charters from the reign of Vimalāditya. (k)

There appears to be a seeming discrepancy with regard to the period of Vimalāditya. The later records of the time of Rājarāja and the succeeding reigns, assign a reign of seven years to him, while the record of Vimalāditya's reign states that he was anointed to the crown on 11th May A. D. 1011, (l) and thus apparently reigned for eleven years or more. This seeming discrepancy may be easily reconciled by assuming that though Vimalāditya was crowned immediately on the death of his elder brother, he did not commence in reality to enjoy the sovereignty for a long time afterwards, and that he was kept out of the realm for four or five years by some unknown usurper.

It should be noted that Rājendra Chōḍa succeeded his father Rājarāja or Rājarāja-Narēndra in October 1061 A. D. as the *de jure* sovereign of Vēṅgi, for he was already anointed as the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) to the throne; but the usurpation of the throne by his uncle Vijayāditya VIII., just at that juncture, during his absence from the capital and the subsequent events, compelled him (Rājendra Chōḍa) to leave the usurper in peaceful enjoyment of the kingdom of Vēṅgi till the latter's death in June or July of 1076 A. D.

It may seem rather strange to show that Rājendra Chōḍa afterwards Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I. assumed the sovereignty of Vēṅgī soon after the death of his father. But the Tōḱi plates of Rājarāja Chōḍaganga (m) and the Chellūr grant of Vīra Chōḍa (n) plainly indicate that Rājarāja I. was succeeded on his death by his son *Yuvarāja*

(j) *E. I.*, XIX pp 137 ff. and 148 iff.

(k) For further remarks see *E. I.* XIX p. 140.

(l) *E. I.*, VI, p. 348 f.

(m) *E. I.* VI, pp, 334-347.

(n) *I. A.* XIX. p, 423 f.

Rajendra Chōḍa but that the latter desirous of the Chōḷa kingdom bestowed the rulership of Vēṅgī upon his uncle Vijayaditya VIII. and then departed for the south. Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva assumed the sovereignty of Vēṅgī for a second time after the death of his uncle; and that event would appear to have taken place some time about the middle of A. D 1076, for according to a copper plate grant recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Ellore ^(o) and now preserved in the Madras Museum, Rājarāja II., the first royal vicegerent after the assumption of the sovereignty of Vengi by the emperor Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I., was annointed to the kingdom of Vēṅgi in the *Tulā lagna* (i. e. during the rising of sign Tula) on Wednesday, the 10th day in the dark fortnight of Kulīra (Karkāṭaka) month, Śaka Samvat 998 expired, the corresponding English date being 27th July, A. D. 1076. ^(p)

(o) C. P. No. 3 of 1921-22.

(p) A. R. E. 1922, para 6, pp. 97-98.

THE RĀJA GURU OF THE FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA AND THE PONTIFFS OF SRINGERI MATHA.

DR. B. A. SALETORE

I

The wide celebrity which Vidyāranya Śrīpāda attained in intellectual as well as in spiritual spheres is, among other things, responsible for the association of his name with the foundation of Vijayanagara Empire. Scholars have been to some extent led on the side-track of the controversy of the identity of Vidyāranya with Madhvacārya.¹ We are not concerned here with this question at all. But we may give a few more details concerning the *rāja-gurus* of the founders of Vijayanagara and the Sringeri gurus, in addition to those we have already mentioned elsewhere. We have conclusively shown, on the basis of epigraphical and literary evidence, that Kāṣivilāsa Kriyāsakti Ācārya was the *rāja-guru* of the rulers of what is known as the First Dynasty of Vijayanagara.²

II

A rapid survey of the epigraphs ranging from the middle of the eleventh century A.D. till the end of the thirteenth century A. D.

- 1 Read the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 611, seq; *ibid*, IX, pp. 801-810; *Journal of Indian History* XII, P. II, pp. 241. seq. Mr. Rāma Rao's arguments especially those relating to the relations of Vidyāranaya with Harihara I (*vide I.H.Q.* IX, p. 805 seq.) collapse when he identifies the Harihara Rāya mentioned in two later stone records dated respectively A.D. 1538 and A. D. 1559 (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Cd. 54, Cl. 54, pp. 12, 103) with Harihara I. Such an identification is historically wrong. As regards the opinion that Madhava and Vidyāranaya were two different persons, it was expressed long ago by Messrs. Srinivasa Rao and Krishnaswami Ayyar in their edition of *Panchadasi* of Vidyāranya, Intr. p. XL. B. A. S.)
- 2 Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 14, 17, 26, 95, 108-9, 110 (n), 257-8, 262-3; II, pp. 130, 235. The following may also be read in this connection : *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle* for 1913, p. 119, seq; *ibid* for 1924-5, pp. 88-9; *No. 1 of Appendix 1927-8*: 467 of 1928-9; *Mysore Archl. Rep.* for 1911, p. 47; *ibid* for 1918, p. 51 where Kriyāsakti Ācārya is identified with Candrabhūṣaṇa Odeyar. Kāṣivilāsa Kriyāsakti Ācārya was, we may also note here, the spiritual guide of Mādhava, who was the great minister of Marāpa, one of the five famous brothers. This is related in A.D. 1347 and again in A.D. 1368. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 375, pp. 65-6; *Mys. Archl. Rep.* for 1929, p. 168, seq.; *E.C.* VII. Sk, 281, p. 146. In the light of these documents my statement (*vide S. P. Life.*, I, p. 110 n. (2) that Kāṣivilāsa Kriyāsakti Ācārya belonged to the Srikanṭhāgama is to be rectified. B.A.S.

reveals the fact that the spiritual teachers of some of the most prominent reigning families in the Karnāṭaka belonged to the famous Kālāmukha sect, and that they were selected either from Baḷḷigāme or from Kuppaṭūr, or from other centres of the Karnāṭaka. The history of the *rāja-gurus* is essential in our solution of the problem concerning the spiritual guides of the founders of Vijayanagara.

The Western Čālukya records, for example, contain references to the *rāja-gurus* who belonged to the Kālāmukha order. A stone inscription dated A. D. 1039 relates that *Pavatavaliyya Kālāmukha Gaṇḍa* (along with other titles, some of which are effaced) Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita Deva was 'the *rāja-guru* of the Western Čālukya (Jaya)singa Deva.' The fact that Jayasinga Deva after "washing the feet" of Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita Deva made some specified grants to the god Siddheśvara of Benakanakoḷa, conclusively shows that Kriyāsakti Deva was the *rāja-guru* of that Western Čālukya ruler. In A.D. 1070 the *Akkōṭi-samaya Cakravarti, Ācārya of the seventy-seven temples* Sarveśvaraśakti Deva is called *rāja-guru*, evidently of the Western Čālukya monarch. Someśvara Deva.³ We may observe here that the titles given to Sarveśvaraśakti Deva in the above record were not identical with those borne by the *rāja-guru* of king Jayasinga Deva. Moreover the fact that the epigraph opens with a lengthy eulogy of the beauties of Kuppaṭūr, and the assertion that Sarveśvaraśakti Deva is said to have been its priest, prove that the *rāja-guru* of the Western Čālukya king in A. D. 1070 hailed from Kuppaṭūr.

But half a century later the honour of supplying the *rāja-guru* passed to the celebrated city of Baḷḷigāme. Here in A.D. 1129 the Western Čālukya monarch Someśvara Deva Bhūloka-malla himself confirmed a grant made to the famous teacher Vamaśakti Paṇḍita by the Kadamba viceroy Taila, after "washing his (the priest's) feet" and "with pouring of water".⁴

Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva was one of the greatest of the Kālāmukha *gurus*. His praise is sung in a record of A.D. 1193 when he was still called *rāja-guru*. It may not be out of place to describe the greatness of this most remarkable of *rāja-gurus* who belonged to the *Mūvara-kōṇeya-saṁtati* of the Parvatavāli line, and who was the disciple of Gautama Paṇḍita Deva. The record in question praises him thus:—He was possessed of all the ascetic virtues (named); he was surrounded with disciples devoted to the *aṣṭāṅga-yoga* which he expounded to them; his lotus feet were covered with clusters of bees the large sapphires

3 E.C. VII, Sk. 153, pp. 109, 260.

4 E.C. VIII, Sb. 276, p. 47.

5 *ibid*, VI, I, Sk. 100, p. 70.

set in the crowns of friendly kings bowing before him; a portable tree of plenty for giving joy to poets, declaimers, orators, conversationalists and other manner of learned men; able in giving decisions on the meaning of the vedānta, siddhānta, āgama, the six systems of logic, all branches of grammar, pure dharma-śāstras, and all other sciences;... devoted to gifts of food, gold, virgins, cows, lands, and the gifts of freedom from fear, of medicine, and all other benefactions;...beloved by his dependants;...master of all kinds of spells—was Vāmaśakti Deva.⁶

He seems to have had uncommon influence over the Kaḷacuriya kings as well. It may at first sight seem strange that the *rāja-guru* of the Caḷukyas should also have been the *rāja-guru* of the Kaḷacuriyas. But the reasons are not far to seek. The Kaḷacuriya king Bijjaṇa Deva was a vassal of the Western Caḷukya monarch Trailokyamalla Deva. This is proved by a record dated A. D. 1156 which relates that when Trailokyamalla Deva was ruling a victorious kingdom, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bijjaṇa Devarasa was ruling all the countries (under him). A grant to the *rāja-guru* Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita Deva of the *Mūvara-kōṇeya-saṅtati* of the Parvatāvali was made evidently by the great minister Māyi Devarasa, of lands and money (specified in detail).⁷

That Bijjala (or Bijjaṇa himself, on his assuming independent status as Bhujabala Cakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala Deva, in A.D. 1162 showed the same Kālāmukha *guru* the highest veneration is proved by another inscription of that date which, among other things, narrates that the great ministers led by Ravi Deva, on Bijjala Deva encamping at Balligāme, "having come there to subdue a southern kingdom", dwelt on the greatness of Balligāme and on that of its chief priest, the head of the Kōḍiya maṭha, Vāmaśakti Deva. When the great minister entreated the Emperor to "perform in that maṭha some work of merit", he "taking it to mind", "washing the feet of Gautamācārya's disciple Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva", granted very many places (named in detail "with enjoyment for three generations").⁸

Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva continued to be the *rāja-guru* of king Bijjala Deva's (eldest) son Raya Murāri Soyi Deva. This is proved by a record dated A. D. 1168 which informs us that Raya Murāri Soyi Deva's great minister and general Byālike Keśimayya, while inspecting his own country, happened to come to the beautiful Balligāme where "approaching the acārya of the temple-Vamaśakti Deva, the *rāja-guru-deva*, he noted for a long time his (Vamaśakti Deva's) pre-eminence in all learning".⁹

6 E.C. VII, Sk. 105, p. 77.

7 *Ibid.*, Sk. 105, pp. 77-8.

8 *Ibid.*, Sk. 104, pp. 75-76.

9 *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 92, pp. 59-60.

This inscription again gives us a few more details concerning the versatility of that great teacher, thus:—"In grammar Pāṇini paṇḍita; in polity and discernment Śrībhūṣaṇacārya; in drama and the science of music, Bhārata-muni; in poetry, Subandhu himself; in siddhānta, Lākuliṣvara: in Śiva devotion, Skanda..."¹⁰

Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva was also the *rāja-guru* of Rāya Murāri Soyī Deva's younger brother Niśśanka Malla or Śankama Deva. We infer this from an epigraph dated A.D. 1179 in which it is said that that ruler together with all his ministers (named), came and camped in Balligame. And once again by the "natural virtues (of) that *rāja-guru*", Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva, king Śankama Deva, "washing the feet of the temple ācārya, the *rāja-guru*", made a grant of a village (specified) in the Jiddulige kāmpana."¹¹

The Western Cālukyas and the Kālacuriyas had, with very few exceptions, honoured Balligāme by their presence because their *rāja-guru* had belonged to that centre. But the Yādava or Seuṇa rulers reverted to Kuppaṭūr from where they selected their spiritual *gurus*. Kuppaṭūr was in the beautiful Nagarakaṇḍa. Here too was the temple of Koṭinātha, also called Koṭeśvara, where lived the well known *Chakravarti* of the *Ekoti-samaya*, priest of the seventy-seven temples, Rudraśakti Deva, Simhaṇa Rāya, as is related in A.D. 1231, having heard about the greatness of Ananta Koṭinātha, directed his general Vāsuki Nāyaka to give to the temple a "large village" (specified).¹² In about A.D. 1245 the same priest of Koṭeśvara Rudraśakti is called *rāja-guru*.^{13-a}

Turning to the Hoysalas we find that in A. D. 1191 Kriyaśakti Deva is called the *rāja-guru* in an epigraph describing the charitable endowments of general Vaijarasa, when the Hoyasala ruler Narasimha Deva was camping in Āsandi-nāḍ. It cannot be made out to which lineage the *rāja-guru* belonged.¹³

¹⁰ *E.C.* VII, Sk. 92, pp. 59-60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Sk. 96, pp. 62-3. In about A.D. 1181 the *rāja-guru* Vamaśakti Deva and his disciple Jñānaśakti Deva are mentioned *E.C.* VII, Sk. 101, p. 71.

¹² *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 275, p. 46. It may be noted here that Rudraśakti's spiritual younger brother Sarveśvaraśakti Deva may have belonged to the same spiritual lineage to which Sarveśvara Deva, mentioned in A.D. 1070 of the times of the Western Cālukya ruler Someśvara Deva, belonged. For both are styled *Ekoti-Samaya-cakravarti*, priest of the seventy-seven temples. There is a Rudraśakti Paṇḍita, disciple of Kriyaśakti Paṇḍita, promoter of the Kālamukhya *samaya*, of the Saktiparidhi of Parvatāvali and A...ka-santati, mentioned in A. D. 1117 in the times of the Western Cālukya ruler Tribhuvanamalla Deva. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 316, p. 154.

^{13-a} *E.C.* VIII, Sb. 272, p. 45. His preceptor was Sarbbeśvara Deva who is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1241. *Ibid.*, Sb. 272, p. 45.

¹³ *E.C.* VI, Kd. 157, p. 31.

But the renowned Vamaśakti Paṇḍita Deva continued to exercise great influence over the generals of the Hoysalas even in A. D. 1193. For in that year the great general of the Hoysala king Vira. Ballāḷa, Eḡeyanga, "washing the feet of the *rāja-guru* Vamaśakti Deva", granted a village (named with details) in Balligāme, for the worship of the god Kedareśvara.¹⁴ It must be confessed that the epigraph does not expressly state that Vamaśakti Deva was the *rāja-guru* of the Hoysala monarch.

Soon afterwards, however, we come across another name. It is that of the *rāja-guru* Kriyāśakti Ācārya of the Agastyeśvara maṭha of Sriparvata. This was in about A. D. 1200.¹⁵ We do not know whether he is to be identified with the *rāja-guru* Kriyāśakti Deva to whom in A.D. 1206 Maraḷu Markaṇḍeya Deva, ruler of Āsandi-nāḍ, made some specified grant.¹⁶

For it appears that Āsandi-nāḍ, was also a district which supplied *rāja-gurus* to the Karnāṭaka rulers. Here in Āsandi-nāḍ too there were five maṭhas, the priests of which had the general designation of Kampaṇācāryas.¹⁷ We infer that the Hoysala kings had their *rāja-gurus* from Āsandi-nāḍ from a record dated A.D. 1214 which speaks of one of the officers of the Hoysala king Narasimha Deva, by name Mūḍgere Rama Gauḍa, making specified grants to the *rāja-guru* Kriyāśakti Deva and the Ēkōṭi ascetics of Āsandi-nāḍ.¹⁸

In A. D. 1255, however, Rudraśakti Deva is mentioned as the *rāja-guru* of Dorosamudra.¹⁹

The viceroys and provincial officials of the Karnāṭaka monarchs imitated their royal masters in receiving spiritual guidance from the priests of the famous places which we have mentioned above. A few examples will suffice. The *Mahāmaṇḍeśvara* Kundamarasa in A.D. 1019 made some specified grants, after washing the feet of his *guru* Mūliga Sivaśakti Paṇḍita of the Mūlasthāna Nandikeśvara temple of Balligāme.²⁰ Govinda, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa Rāja, after revering the feet of the *Ornament of the Mūvara-kṛṇṇeya-saṁtati* of the Parvata-vali, Someśvara Paṇḍita Deva, made some specified endowments.²¹ In the same city of Kedareśvara (i.e., Balligāme) was Vādi Vidyabharana Paṇḍita Deva, the *guru* of Jagadevarasa and Bammarasa. These two

14 E.C. VII. Sk. 105, pp. 77-8.

15 *Ibid.*, XII. Ch. 35, pp. 82-3.

16 „ VI. Kd. 134, p. 30.

17 „ Kd. 143, p. 27.

18 „ VII. Ci. 64, pp. 190-191.

19 „ V. Ak. 108, p. 159.

20 „ VII. Sk. 125, p. 97.

21 „ Sk. 98, p. 64.

made some endowments to him in A. D. 1149.²² Mahādeva Daṇḍāyaka in about A. D. 1164 “washing the feet of Vāmaśakti Paṇḍita Deva” of the Kiṭṭōya maṭha, and of the Mūvara-kōṇeya santati, made a grant given in detail.²³ In about A.D. 1178 Canda of the village of Sivapura Bhārangi “washing the feet of Kalyāṇaśakti Paṇḍita Deva”, disciple of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita Deva of the god Grāmeśvara of Cikka Keṇeyūru, made specified grants for the god Mallikārjuna of Bhārangi.²⁴

From the above it is clear that the Karnāṭaka kings as well as their viceroys from the middle of the eleventh century A. D. till the end of the thirteenth century A.D., had set one great precedent, *viz.*, that of selecting their *rāja-gurus* from one of the four well known places—Baḷligāme, Kuppattūr, Āsandi and Śrīparvata. Of these the first two were more famous than the other ones, Baḷligāme being one of the most celebrated spots in the Karnāṭaka. The Vijayanagara monarchs, promoters of the *purvada mārgāde* as they certainly were, —a fact which we have amply proved elsewhere—, must undoubtedly have been influenced by the precedent which their predecessors had set concerning the selection of *rāja-gurus* from one of the centres mentioned above.

This precedent was not the only factor that determined their choice of their *rāja-gurus*. There is also another consideration to be noticed in this connection. The Kālamukha leaders of the various sects, especially those of Baḷligāme, had one feature in common with the founders of Vijayanagara. Their patron deity was the same as that of the latter. But it belonged to Kōṭiya maṭha and not to Pampā-kṣetra. This was Virūpākṣa. In A. D. 1215 Vāmaśakti Deva, of the Kōṭiya maṭha, “praising Virūpākṣa, dwelling in the Kōṭi maṭha”, “did great penance like Upamanyu of old”.²⁵

But here we are confronted with some difficulties. Kriyāśakti Ācārya was the name of the *guru* of the founders of Vijayanagara. It was a name which was borne by more than one head of the maṭhas in the Karnāṭaka. Thus we find that the Kālamukhi Brahmacaristhana of Baḷligāme, as it is called in A. D. 1036,²⁶ had five maṭhas, four of which are thus enumerated in A. D. 1098:—the senior (*hriya*) maṭha of Bheruṇḍēśvara, the ācārya of which was called Gaula Paṇḍita Deva; the Pañca Linga maṭha, over which there was the ācārya Śrīkaṇṭha Paṇḍita Deva; the Tripurāntaka maṭha with Caturānana Paṇḍita as its ācārya; and the Mulasthāna maṭha which was presided over by the

22 *E.C. Sk.* 103, p. 75.

23 *Ibid.*, Sk. 108, pp. 80-1.

24 „ VII. Sb. 325, p. 56.

25 „ VII, Sk. 95, pp. 61-2.

26 „ Sk. 126, p. 98.

ācārya Mūliga Honneya Jīya.” In A. D. 1113, however, the name Kriyāsakti was borne by the heads of two maṭhas in the same city of Balligāme:—the ācārya of the *hīriya* (senior) Bheruṇḍesvara maṭha was called Śantaśiva Paṇḍita; the head of the Pañca Linga maṭha was known as Kriyāsakti Deva; the ācārya of Tripurāntaka maṭha was styled Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita.²⁷

The similarity in the names borne by more than one priest of Balligāme and the absence of any reference to the identity of spiritual lineage of the Kriyāsaktis we have mentioned above and of the Kriyāsakti *gurus* of the early rulers of Vijayanagara, in the numerous epigraphs concerning the latter, make it impossible, at the present stage of our investigations, to determine exactly the relationship between the earliest *rāja-guru* of the founders and others who bore similar names in the times preceding those of the sons of Sangama.

III

Nevertheless we have related already, ample evidence to prove that Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita was the name of the *rāja-guru* of the founders of Vijayanagara, and even of Harihara Rāya II and Deva Rāya I.²⁸ At the same time we have undisputable proof to show that the sons of Sangama were gradually coming under the influence of the Śringeri *gurus*. This was in the very first year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom A. D. 1346. In that year the five brothers led by Harihara Oḍeya made a pilgrimage to the Śringeri maṭha, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory, and made an excellent grant along with his other brothers. The reason why the founders went to Śringeri to commemorate the victory (i.e., the conquest of the earth from the eastern to the western ocean), is given in the praise bestowed on Vidyātirtha *guru*. It was to do obeisance to that *guru* “whose friendship gained is never lost”.²⁹ Evidently the founders had received some sort of tangible support from the Śringeri *svāmi* which was more than mere spiritual guidance. We have to assume that it was something which their own *guru* Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita, inspite of the high

27 *E.C. Sk.* 106, p. 79

28 *Ibid.* Sk. 99, p. 67. The name of the fifth maṭha is supplied in a record dated A.D. 1159 which styles the priest of the *hīriya* maṭha of Bheruṇḍesvara, Mūliga Madhukeśvara Paṇḍita; of the Pañcalinga maṭha, Sarveśvara Paṇḍita; of the Tripurāntaka maṭha, Jñānaśakti Paṇḍita; and of the Kōḍiya maṭha, Vamaśakti Paṇḍita. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 123, p. 94. The Kōḍiya maṭha, therefore, was the fifth maṭha in Balligāme which contained many other maṭhas, Brahmapuris, and even a Buddhist *vihara*. The greatness of the Kōḍiya maṭha is described in detail in a record of A.D. 1162. *Ibid.* Sk. 102, p. 73.

29 The only exception is an A. D. 1396 when Khandeya Rāya Khalesvara Devayya is called the *raja-guru*. *E.C.* VII. Hl. 71, p. 173. In A. D. 1403 Viṭṭhanna Oḍeya is called a “flamingo at the lotus feet of Kriyāsakti *guru* munisvara”. *Ibid.* VI. Kp. 52, p. 87.

30 *E.C.* VI Sg. 1, p. 92.

reverence in which he may have been held, could not give to them, viz., financial support just when they were in the greatest need of it. This accounts for two things—the stress laid on the friendship (of Vidyātīrtha) which once gained was never lost; and the association of the name of another most remarkable figure of Śringeri history—Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda—with the story of the shower of gold said to have been caused by him for about 3½ *ghaṭīkas*, as is related in tradition.³¹

That Vidyātīrtha-svāmi was alive in A.D. 1356 is proved by a stone record found in Śringeri. This inscription reiterates the great confidence which the founders had in their friendship with the head of the Śringeri maṭha, by praising him thus—that the lord of the ascetics (Vidyātīrtha) surpasses the sun by his ability to remove both the internal and external darkness of men both day and night. The *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, Lord of both the Oceans, Vīra Bukka Oḍeya, on the occasion of this visit, made in the customary manner a gift of money (specified) and of land (also specified), in A. D. 1356. The importance of this stone inscription lies also in the fact that it proves that Vidyātīrtha-svāmi was alive in that year, thus disproving the traditional account of the Śringeri maṭha itself which places his death in A.D. 1333!³²

Epigraphs outside Śringeri also confirm the statement that the *guru* of the Śringeri maṭha, who was a contemporary of Bukka Oḍeya, was Vidyātīrtha-svāmi. A stone epigraph found in the Śiva temple at Uḷayibettu in the Mangalore tāluka, South Kanara district, narrates that in the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeya, a gift of land (specified) was made by Paṇḍarideva Oḍeya, the viceroy over the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, to Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda for conducting the worship in the temple of Ōmañjūru in Tuluva. This inscription is dated Saka 1298, Rākṣasa, Āśāḍha, Śu. 15 Thursday which works out correctly to Thursday the 14th June A.D. 1375.³³

Thus till June 14th A. D. 1375 Vidyātīrtha-svāmi continued to be the *guru* of the Śringeri maṭha. This explains why in a record dated A.D. 1377 Bukka Oḍeya is spoken of having become “very great” with the assistance of Vidyātīrtha-muni.³⁴

31 Cf. *Salatore, S P. Life*, I, p. 142

32 *Mys. Arch. Rept* for 1916, p. 56.

33 475 of 1928-9; *E.d. Rept.* for 1928-9, p. 54.

34 *E.C. IV. Yd. 46*, p. 58. Relying the Rice's interpretation, I took the year to be A.D. 1376. (*S.P. Life*, I, p. 103) But this needs correction, for the original runs thus:—*aṣṭottara-navatī-adhika-dvi-śatādihikaika-sahasra-sankhyeṣu Śaka-varseṣu ghteṣu tad anantarasya Naḷa-samvalasarasya Phālguṇa-māse Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe pratipati tithau Bhanuvāre Uttārā-Phalguṇī-nakṣatre.* (*E.C. IV. Yd. 46*, p. 152). This corresponds to A. D. 1377, February the 24th Tuesday. (Swami Kannu, *Ind. Epi. IV*, p. 356.)

This demolishes the contention of all those who have erroneously maintained Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda was instrumental in the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara. As to when exactly Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda became the head of the Śringeri maṭha, we have some interesting information also from Tuluva. A stone inscription found in the Ananta Padmanābha temple at Kuḍupu in the Mangalore tāluka, relates that at the instance of the king Bukka Rāya, his viceroy Paṇḍarideva, who was placed over the Maṅgaḷūru-rājya, made a gift of the income of the paddy from the villages of Kuḍupu and Muluru in the Nandalikeya-nādu, to Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Śringeri, for feeding Brahmans and for offerings to the temple of Śankara-deva. The record is dated Śaka 1297 Rākṣasa, Kārtika, Śu. 1 Thursday which correctly corresponds to Thursday the 25th October A.D. 1375³⁵

There can be no mistake about the evidence supplied by the above record. It was issued by the same viceroy who on June 14th 1375 had given certain endowments, not "to a Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda", as the Madras Government Epigraphist would have it,³⁶ but to the famous Vidyātīrtha-svāmi of Śringeri. He now issues another grant on October 25th of the same year when Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda had become the head of the Śringeri maṭha.

But so sure were the people of the material aid which the sons of Sangama had received from the predecessor of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, that even after the latter's accession to the pontificate of the maṭha, they connected the name of his illustrious predecessor Vidyātīrtha-svāmi with the rise of the sons of Sangama. This is proved by a copper plate dated A. D. 1377 found in the Kṛṣṇarājapet tāluka treasury, Mysore State. After giving the reason why Bukka Oḍeya was born—to free the land of the Mlecchas,—the grant relates that he "became the sole lord of the earth by the grace of Vidyātīrtha muni".³⁷

Indeed, in a copper plate grant dated A.D. 1380 which gives us the details of former grants, the fact of the five brothers first in A. D. 1346, and then of Bukka Oḍeya in A.D. 1353 having gone to the senior Śrīpāda (Vidyātīrtha) is given together with some more details which seem to confirm the evidence of the Kuḍupu stone inscription cited above. For in this copper-plate of A. D. 1380, it is said that Bukka Rāya wrote a letter to Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, who was then in Vāraṇasī (Benares), enclosing an order from the senior Śrīpāda (Vidyātīrtha) requesting him to return to Virūpākṣa (i.e., Hampi). Soon after Vidyāraṇya's return to Virūpākṣa, he was taken to Śringeri and the king directed Mādarasa to grant specified lands in Kikundanāḍ for the maintenance of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda. Harihara Rāya's son Cikka Rāya,

35 460 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. for 1928-9*, p. 54.

36 475 of 1928-9, *Ep. Rept. ibid.*

37 *Mysore Archl. Rept. for 1914*, p. 57.

viceroy over Ārāga, also granted to Vidyāranya Śrīpāda lands in the same *nāḍu* as well as in Hiriya Koḍanāḍu. Then Harihara Rāya II confirmed all the previous grants in A. D. 1380 to Vidyāranya Śrīpāda (details given).³⁸

Further, in A.D. 1384 Harihara Rāya II is described as having "acquired the empire of knowledge unattained by other kings," "by the grace of Vidyāranya muni",³⁹ thus confirming the evidence of the above that it was in the reign of Harihara Rāya II that Vidyāranya-svāmi figured conspicuously in Vijayanagara history.

Vidyāranya Śrīpāda continued to be the head of the Sringeri maṭha till A.D. 1386 when he died. In the same year Harihara Rāya II had given a copper-plate grant to Nārāyaṇa Vājapeya-yati, Narahari Somayāji, and Paṇḍari Dikṣita, who were *Promoters of the Commentary on the Four Vēdas*, in the presence of Vidyāranya Śrīpāda.⁴⁰ But in the same year A. D. 1386 Vidyāranya Śrīpāda died. It was on the death of that celebrated *guru* (on Saturday the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of Jyēsthā [in the cyclic year Kṣaya = May the 26th Saturday]) that Harihara Rāya II granted specified lands in Kikunda-nāḍu which were christened Vidyāranyapura to the *mahājānas* of Sringeri. This date agrees with the traditional one given in Sringeri concerning his death. The famous *guru* died in Hampe and his *śaṁṁḍhi* was constructed just behind the Virūpākṣa temple.

To sum up:—(1) The Karnāṭaka monarchs from the middle of the eleventh century onwards had a set the precedent of selecting their *rāja-gurus* from one or the other of the famous Kālāmukha orders of the great centres of Karnāṭaka—Baḷḷigāṇe, Kūppaṭūr, Āsandi, and Śrīparvata.

(2) The Vijayanagara monarchs, who were but heirs to the rich Karnāṭaka tradition and culture, merely continued this custom and selected their *rāja-guru* from the same Kālāmukha sect, although it is uncertain from which branch of the Kālāmukha *saṁgha* their Kriyāśakti Ācārya hailed.

(3) While they continued to be under the spiritual guidance of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, political necessity compelled them to seek the aid of the Sringeri *gurus* from the very first year of their political career (A. D. 1346).

4. Vidyāranya Śrīpāda, his successor, came to Sringeri in October 1375, and was the head of the great maṭha till A. D. 1386 when he died.

38 *Mys. Arcl. Rept.* for 1916, pp. 56-7. Here too the unreliability of the Sringeri maṭha tradition which makes Bhoganātha younger brother of Vidyāranya, guru of Sringeri between A.D. 1328-1330 is to be noted. Epigraphical evidence runs counter to the Sringeri tradition. *Mys. Rept. ibid* pp. 57-8.

39 *Ibid.* p. 58.

40 *Ibid.* for 1908, para 54; *ibid* for 1914-5, p. 52; Swami Kannu, *Ind. Eph.* IV p. 374.

Campaigns of Sri Krishna-devaraya.

K. ISWARA DUTT, B.A. (Cocanada)

Accession of Krishna-devaraya to the throne.

Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler described in his own unique and graphic way how Krishnadevarāya succeeded to the throne of the Vijianagar Empire, after the death of his brother Vīranarasimha. The narrative of Nuniz merits a complete quotation; as the story is interesting, because it was a conglomeration of intrepid intrigue and intuitive intervention on the part of a sagacious statesman and a farsighted minister Salva Timmaṣasu, who was convinced that the Empire needed at that time, a strong personality at the centre to guide its destinies. He found in Krishnarāya such a person and he wanted him then.

We crave the indulgence of our readers to peruse what Nuniz says:

"The king (Vīranarasimha) died of sickness in the city of Bisnaga, and before he died he sent for Salva-Timaya, his minister, and commanded to be brought to him his (the king's) son eight years old, and said to Salva Timya, that as soon as he was dead he must raise up his son to be the King (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Cristnarao) and that he must put out the eyes of the latter and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no differences in the kingdom. Salvatima said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Cristna Rao and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade to put out his eyes and make his son king. When he heard this, Cristna Rao said that he did not seek to be king, nor to be anything in the kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a Jogi (ascetic) and that he should not put his eyes out, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Salvatima, hearing this and seeing that Cristna Rao was a man of over twenty years, and therefore more fit to be king as you will see further on, than the son of Busbal Rao who was only eight years old, and commanded to bring a she-goat and he put out its eyes and took them to show the king, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as the king was dead, his brother Cristna Rao was raised to be king, whose eyes the late king had ordered to be torn out".¹

1 Forgotten Empire, p. 314-315.

What one considered to be an obnoxious obstacle to the succession to the Vijianagar Empire, the other thought an object of ornament and fate ordained that Krishnarāya should wield the sceptre.

The date of Krishnaraya's accession to the throne.

The date of accession of Krishnadevaraya to the throne is of primary importance to the historian who chronicles the campaigns of that Emperor. Krishnadevarāya was said to have been crowned Emperor on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of Magha in the cyclic year Sukla of Ś 1431 according to the Hampi Inscription.² There was also epigraphical evidence to show that he ascended the throne much earlier. The Tālipatri inscription³ of Sālva Timmarasu states that Vira Narasimha, the brother of Krishnadevarāya was ruling the kingdom in May, 1509 A. D., and Pulivendla record⁴ informs that Krishnadevaraya was on the throne in October, 1509 A.D.

Political condition of the Empire.

A fateful succession of feeble monarchs to the throne of the Empire after the Praudhadēvarāya, rendered the central government extremely weak, enabling an array of rebellious viceroys and a host of formidable foes to encroach upon the frontiers of the kingdom which began to shrink from the original and extensive dimensions. The north and the eastern boundaries of the Empire were surrounded by enimical monarchs. The Raichore doab, a cockpit of the rival powers, fell into the hands of the muhammadans. Yusuf Adil Khan, declared himself an independent Sultan of Bijapur in 1489 A.D. and a rivalry between him and Kasimbarid, the Sultan of Ahamadnagar, soon after ensued. The latter invoked the succor of the usurper Sālva Narasingarāya who was promised by his muhammadan ally to cede Mudgal and Raichur. The Sultan of Bijapur was defeated and the two above mentioned places passed into the possession of Vijianagar Empire. But the Sultan of Bijapur could not brook the defeat and after a period of four years i.e., in 1493 A. D. he marched against the two places mentioned above, and gained possession of them and once more the base of contention fell into the hands of the Muhammadan.⁵ Eversince that fateful event, the Vijianagar monarchs were determined to wrest the two places from the hands of the Sultan. The Sultan was said to have invaded the territories of the Empire, and

2 Epigraphia Indica Vol I. p. 362.

3 No. 342 of Epigraphical Collection, 1892.

4 do. for 1906.

5 Forgotten Empire, p, 113-114.

advanced so far as to lay siege to Mālur (Kolar District) which was one of the greatest forts of that country. Narasinga took to flight and afterwards tendered his submission, but the Sultan marched on to Kanchi, and also plundered the town and the temples which were the wonder of the age⁶. In this connection Nuniz narrates a story. He says "Amongst these (testaments) he (Krishnadevaraya) found one of king Narsymga, whose minister his father Narasanayque had been in which that king desired that his sons, or whoever should inherit the kingdom of Narsymga which had been gained by force of arms, should capture three fortresses that at his death remained in revolt against him, the which he had not himself taken because time failed him; one of them was called Richoll and another Madagulla".⁷ This fact had always an important bearing on the foreign policy of the Emperor, who was through out his reign quite hostile towards the Muhammadan and who stood like a formidable rock against which the billows of the muhammadan invasions broke in vain.

The Gajapathis.

The Emperor had to face on the eastern and the north-eastern frontiers of the kingdom, an equally formidable but less fierce foe, in the kings of the Kalinga, popularly known as the Gajapathis. The policy of the Gajapathis towards their muhammadan neighbour was always co-operative and his actions complementary, unlike that of their Vijayanagar contemporaries, which was always competitive and conflictive towards the banner of the crescent. But the Gajapathi was a less dangerous and destructive enemy than the Muhammadan and Krishnadevaraya, was quite sagacious, in successfully inflicting a crushing defeat first on this unwholesome ally of the Muhammadan.

The conquest of the Andhra and Tamil country by the Kings of Orissa.

The inroads of the Oriya King into the Andhra and the Tamil countries date back to the last half of the fifteenth century. Kapilēswara Gajapathi who ruled the Kalinga country from 1435-1470 A. D. was one of the powerful monarchs who attempted a successful invasion of the Deccan. It was stated that he conquered the Karnata kingdom and went as far as Kanchi and besieged it.⁸ The terrible shock and

6 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 134. Major King's account of the Burhani Masjid.

7 Forgotten Empire p. 316.

8 The Jagannadha Inscription of Kapilēswara. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 173-190.

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2 Epigraphia Indica Vol I. p. 362.

3 No. 342 of Epigraphical Collection, 1392.

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5 Forgotten Empire, p, 113-114.

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great havoc wrought by the Gajapathi invasion into the southern country, was amply demonstrated by a few epigraphical records also. In an inscription dated 1472-73 A.D. from the South Arcot District, it was stated that the daily worship of God Jambūnātha was being neglected from a decade previous to that date owing to the distressing disturbance caused by the Gajapathi invasion. Likewise, in another record dated 1470-71 A.D. from Tirukoiluru, we learn that the repairs to the Vaiṣṇava temple in that village were neglected for the same reasons. This must have happened during the end of Mallikharjuna's reign.⁹ But in Gangadasapratāpavilasam, it was stated that the 'Yavanapathi' and the 'Gajapathi' marched against Mallikharjuna Raya, and that the former were defeated by the prowess of the Vijayanagar Emperor. The Gajapathi was said to have fled for his life.¹⁰ Two inscriptions which were dated 1464-65 A. D. of the Gajapathi king, Kapileswara were also found in the village of Munnur in the South Arcot District. These records establish that the southern invasion of the king of Orissa was not only an enterprising expedition, but also a war of conquest into the heart of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. Kapileswara-kumara-mahapatro, as the chief was called, was stated, in both these records that he was the viceroy of Kondavidu, Kondapalli, Addanki, Vinukonda, Dandapada, Padavidu, Veludilampathuvusavadi, Tiruvaruru, Trichinopoly and Chandragiri.¹¹ Perhaps the earliest inscription showing the domination of the Gajapathi King over the Andhra country was that of the Kondavidu record of Ganadeva, a subordinate of Kapileswara ruling the Kondavidu principality, as the subordinate of the Orissa king.¹² The inscriptions of Kapileswara Gajapathi were found in Bezawada and China Tirupathi the present Krishna and West Godavari Districts. From the China Tirupathi inscription we learn that Raghudevanarendra, a minister of Kapileswara was ruling at Rajahmundry.¹³ Similarly from the Ganti record in the present East Godavari District, we understand that the village was granted to a certain number of Brahmmins during the reign of Purushottama, sōn of Kapileswara. From it, it was plain that the northern part of the Andhradesa was under the political sway of the Gajapathis.¹⁴ The Draksharāma and the Guntur inscriptions of Purushottamadeva, also demonstrate the hold of the Gajapathi kings over the Andhra

9 Epigraphical report for 1906 p 56.

10 Page 65 of the Sources of Vijayanagar History.

11-(1) Epigraphical report for 1919, para 47

(2) Anantivaram inscription dated 1500 A D. of Purushottamadeva published by Mr. Prabhakarasastri in the Annual Supplement of Andhraprātika, 1928.

12 Indian Antiquary Vol. XX, page 390.

13 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V, No. 101.

14 Epigraphical Report for 1900, p. 65.

country.¹⁵ From the Anantavaram record, of which mention was already made, we know that Purushottama invaded the Vijianagar Empire and captured Saḷuva Narasingaraya (the usurper), who seceded the Udaigiri principality to the Orissa king. But the contemporary Telugu and Sanskrit Literature present us a different picture of the story. In the Telugu poem 'Jaiminibhāratam' which was dedicated to Saḷuva Narasimha, it was stated that he deprived Oḍḍiya (the sovereign) of Orissa) who invaded his kingdom of his strength.¹⁶ In the 'Rāmābhyudayam', written by Saḷuva Narasimha, it was stated that he ruled over Katak,¹⁷ and in the 'Saḷuvābhyudayam', it was narrated in great detail how Narasimha marched against the Kalinga ruler and besieged his city.¹⁸ The Anantavaram inscription of Purushottamadeva, and the 'Saraswativilāsam' written by him, also furnish sufficient material towards his relations with the Vijianagar Empire and his hold on the Andhra country. It was known, therefore, that Prataparudra invaded the Southern country and encamped on the banks of the Kristnaveni; and granted Anantavaram, in the present Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District. The Udayagiri and the Kondavidu principalities passed into the hands of the Gajapathis.

From the contemporary Telugu literature and lithic records, we know that the Udayagiri principality was ruled by subordinate chiefs of the King of Orissa Basavabhūpāla, son of Timmaraya was ruling at Udayagiri as a viceroy of Gajapathi. This was stated by Narayanakavi, in his Panchatantram,¹⁹ by Dugganakavi in his Nachiketopakyanam,²⁰ and Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya in their joint work 'Prabhodhachandrodayam'.²¹ There is an inscription of Timmaraya, the father of Basavabhupala in Ranganayakaswami's temple in the Udayagiri fort.²²

The stage of the Southern Country.

We discussed the political relations of the Empire with the Kalinga Rulers and had now to divert our attention to the state of affairs in the Tamil country, which formed the southern frontier of the Empire. This also presents a powerful picture and narrates a doleful story and in short it is a tale of trouble and turmoil. There was always trouble from the Chola and the Pandyan principalities in the south.

15 South Indian Inscriptions Nos. 659, 1362. Vol. IV.

16 Sources of Vijianagar History, p. 86.

17 do. do. p. 83.

18 do. do. p. 91.

19 Panchatantram, Canto 1, Introductory verses.

20 Nachiketopakyanam, Canto 1 do.

21 Prabhodhachandrodayam, Canto 1 do.

22 Nos 208 and 209 Epigraphical Collections for 1892.

Ever since the expedition of Kamparaya into the Pandyan kingdom, and the restoration of that ruler to the throne, the allegiance of the southern chiefs, was lukewarm to the central government and during the time of Saluva Narasimha, we find that several expeditions were made by the usurper and his trusted generalissimo, Narasanāyaka, the father of Krishnadevarāya. The Telugu poems Jaiminibharatam, Varahapurānam, and Parijatāpaharanam and the Sankrit works of 'Saluvābhyudayam, Rāmābhyudayam, Varadāmbikāpariniyam and Achyutarayabhyudayam, amply demonstrate the above facts. In Jaiminibharatam, it was stated that Salva Narasimha conquered the Tamil country.²³ In the Varāhapuranam, the exploits of the usurper were narrated and it was described how he conquered the following forts viz, Bangalore, Bagur, Nargonda, Namur and Srirangapatam.²⁴ In Rāmābhyudayam, Narasimha was stated to have ruled over the territory comprising the 'Kalyana, Kanchi, Katak, Kuntala, Chola and Pundraka'.²⁵ In Parijatāpaharanam, it was described that Narasanāyaka, the famous general captured the town of Madura after killing the Chola ruler and exhibited the swordsmanship to the Henna ruler of Srirangapatam.²⁶ Similarly the exploits of Narasanāyaka were described in Achyutarayabhyudayam. He laid a bridge across the Kaveri, and captured the town of Srirangapatam. He then marched against Madura and defeating and killing its Marava ruler in a battle, captured the place. He then defeated in battle a chief called Konetiraja who opposed him his elephants.²⁷

All the above facts, were more or less confirmed by contemporary inscriptions Narasa was stated to have constructed a bridge across the Kaveri, crossed it, and besieged Srirangapatam. He erected a pillar of victory there. He was said to have conquered the Gajapathi ruler and possessed a title 'Gajapathirayebhagandabherunda', conquered the Muhammadans, and Mānabhusa, the ruler of Madura, and that the rulers of Pandya, Chola and Chera countries were paying tributes to him.²⁸ Thus we understand that the state of the southern country was also quite unsettled at the time of the accession of Krishnaraya.

23 Sources Vijayanagar Empire page 86.

24 do. 88.

25 do. 83.

26 do. 106.

27 do. 108.

There was a Pandyan King called 'Arikesari Parakrama Pandya who was also named Mānabhusa, Mānabharana or Mānakavacha. This may be the person the Tuluva general said to have conquered at this time also there was a Konetiraja ruling Kanchi. (No. 259 of 1911; 1490-91 A.D.)

28-(1) Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. IV, Part II. Gundalpet No. 30.

(2) Epigraphia Indica Vol. XIV, Jan. 1913. Kudiyntandal grant of Viranarasimha.

Preparations for the Campaigns.

Nuniz states that Krishnadēvarāya stayed at Vijayanagar for a period of one and a half years after he was crowned king and learnt the affairs of the state probably under his great prime minister Śaḷuva Timmarasu. This fact was also corroborated by Rāyavachakam and Krishnarāyavijayam, the two later day chronicles about the reign of the Emperor Krishnadevaraya.

The Conquest of Sivasamudra.

The first expedition of Krishnadevaraya soon after he ascended the throne was against the Ummattur chiefs. Their capital was Sivasamudra. It is an island city, situated between the two falls of the Kāveri, nine miles north-east of modern Kollegal in the Coimbatore District. The Ummattur chiefs were turbulent and attempted to become independent during the time of the predecessors of Krishnadevaraya. We have had ample contemporary evidence to illustrate the fact. From the Portuguese authorities, we are informed 'that the king of Narasinga was getting himself ready with 5000 men on foot and 2000 on horse, for an expedition against one of his vassals who had risen up in rebellion and seized the city of Penugonda, the rebel declaring that "to himself belonged the kingdom by right".' That the Rajahs of Ummattur asserted their independence and became the lords of Penugonda was instanced by an inscription dated 1494 A.D., at Honakanhalli in the Gundlupeta Taluk, wherein it was stated that the Chikkarajah Odeyar, the lord of Ummattur was given the title of 'Penugonda-Chakreswara'.²⁹ Krishnadevaraya defeated the chief at the battle of Sivasamudra and gave pardon to the rebellious rajah. After the conquest of Sivasamudra, the king visited Srirangapatam and paid homage to the God there and returned back to the capital. The conquest of Sivasamudra was graphically described in Parijatapaharam,³¹ Rayavachakam³² and Krishnarāyavijayam.³³

From the Amaravati inscription dated the 8-7-1515 A.D., of Krishnadevaraya, we learn also that Krishnadevaraya conquered Sivasamudra, the stronghold of the Ummattur chiefs. Professor Luders who ably edited the inscription quotes confirmatory evidence from the accounts of foreign travellers and muhammadian historians.³⁴ The

29 Forgotten Empire, p. 126.

30 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IV, page 77.

31 Page 138 of the Sources of Vijayanagar History.

22 do. 111 do.

33 do. 130 do.

34 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, p. 17-22.

Bukkapatnam inscription of Krishnadēvarāya is another record which mentions Krishnarāya's sojourn to Sivasamudra. The later record states that the king who had gone to Sivasamudra on state business, ordered from there, that the ceremony of 'Lakshādhana' might be performed at Penugonda, and that on the closing occasion when the Purnāhuti was offered in the time, the assessment on the Devadaya and Brahmadaya lands below the tank of 'Kottacheruvu', which having been tax free from the time of Chokkaodayalu, had been assessed during subsequent political disturbances in the country, might be completely exempted from paying any taxes both in kind or coin. The 'state affair' and 'subsequent political disturbance' evidently relate to the rebellion of the Ummattur chiefs and the subsequent expedition of Krishnadevarāya, whose presence was called for at Sivasamudra.³⁵

After the Conquest of Sivasamudra, the King appointed Saluva Govindarājah, the brother of the prime minister, as the viceroy of that country.³⁶

The Kalinga Wars.

First expedition.

The Udayagiri fort was an impregnable citadel and as the two inscriptions at Kandukur clearly state, it was the strongest fort in the domain of Krishnadevarāya.³⁷ The fort was under the command of Pūsapāti Tammarāyanimgaru and afterwards his son Basavarāju, about the end of the fifteenth century.³⁸ Subsequently, it was ruled by Tirumalakantarāya, the uncle of Prataparuda Gajapathi. Krishnadevarāya, with his mighty army started from Vijianagar and proceeding via. Gutti and Gandikōta, sieged Udayagiri. Udayagiri fell and with it, the whole of the Eastern Āndhra country which was under the sway of the Gajapathis was annexed to the Karnāta Empire, which was extended to the Bay of Bengal. The banner of the Boar was floated on the fortified walls of the stronghold of Udayagiri on 9-6-1514 A.D., according to an Udayagiri record.³⁹ From that inscription, we learn that Krishnarāya captured alive Tirumala Rāghavarāya or Kāntarāya.⁴⁰ Nuniz stated that the Emperor laid siege to the fort for a

35 Epigraphical report 1914. Para 30. S' 1435.

36-(1) No. 340 of Epigraphical Collections for 1892.

(2) Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. IV. Introduction page 25 and Epigraphia Carnatica Mysore, Part 1. N.j. 195.

37 Nellore Inscriptions Vol. II. K. R. 27 and 30.

38 do. Vol. III. No. 29.

39 do. Vol. III. No. 40.

40 do. Vol. III Udayagiri Nos. 37, 38, 40, and 41.

year and a half, with an army of thirty-thousand foot and eight thousand elephants and that he captured an aunt of Pratāparudra Gajapathi and took her off to Vijianagaram, where he showed her all the courtesy.⁴¹

Rāyasam Kondamarasu, was appointed as the governor of Udayagiri principality, after it was annexed to the Empire. He gave a grant on the 20-8-1514, after he was appointed to the Viceroyalty of Udayagiri principality.⁴²

The king visited the Tirupathi temple on his way back to the capital and presented to the God Venkatēśwara 30,000 gadyanams. The Tirupathi records were inscribed in three languages; the Canarese, Telugu and Tamil. These records recount how Krishnadevarāya attacked Pratāparudragajapathi and how he pursued him as far as Kondavidu, after his capture of Udayagiri.⁴³

After taking the fortress of Udayagiri, the Emperor brought from there the beautiful image of Sree Bālakrishna and installed it in a jewelled mantapa in the Krishnaswāmi temple at Hampi.⁴⁴

Second expedition.

Capture of Kondavidu.

The next important fortress of the Gajapathi was Kondavidu. Krishnarāya, as Nuniz stated, thought that his conquest of Udayagiri was only a trivial one, and he determined to penetrate into the domains of the King of Oriya.⁴⁵ As soon as he returned from the first expedition, he did not rest content with his success in that quarter. He ordered his prime minister to make preparations for the second expedition.

We had already stated, that the viceroyalty of Kondavidu, was held by Gandena, and afterwards by Kumāra Hammira Mahāpātro, the famous Oriya general who was sent against Kanchi by Kapileswara. Subsequently after the death of Hammira Pātro, Virabhadra, son of Pratāparudra Gajapathi, was the viceroy of Kondavidu and he was assisted by some Oriya chieftains and muhammadan warriors in the government of the same. The viceroy of Kondavidu was considered to be the principal Rāja of Telingāna.⁴⁶

41 Forgotten Empire, p. 316-37.

42 Nellore Inscriptions No. 1197.

43 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, No. 282.

44 do. do. No. 255.

45 Forgotten Empire, p. 317.

46 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 390-393.

Let us turn to Nuniz, who gave a graphic account of the conquest of Kondavīdu.

"He (Krishnarāya) departed and went against Comdovy which was one of the principal cities of the kingdom of Oriya and beseiged it, and learning this, the king of Oriya came against him to defend his territories, and brought with him 1300 elephants, and 20,000 horsemen and he brought 5,00,000 footsoldiers. Crisnarao, being aware of the approach of the king of Oriya, left the city without assaulting it, saying that he preferred to fight the king in person, and his army, rather than to attack the city and that there would be plenty of time afterwards to take it, and he went forward four leagues from it, leaving a force to prevent the escape of the people from the city and if they should seek to flee to the coast. And he arrived at a large river of salt water crossed by a ford and on the otherside of the river was the king of Oriya with his army. King, Crisnarao halted his army on the side of the river and sent the king a message that if he desired to fight with him, he would retire from the river two leagues, so that he (the king of Oriya) might pass the river unmolested. and as soon as he had passed he would join battle; to which message the king of Oriya gave no reply, but on the contrary made ready to give battle. And king Crisnarao, seeing his determination crossed the river with all his forces and elephants, and in crossing the river there were heavy encounters on both sides, and many were slain. Notwithstanding this, king Crisnarao crossed the river, and on the bank fought so bravely that he defeated the king of Oriya and put him to flight in which defeat he took many horses and elephants.

And after the king had done this, he told Sālvatinea, his minister that he purposed to turn back to the fortress, which had not yet experienced his strength, and he went against it, and stopped there two months beseiging it; and he took it.

And he gave the command of it to Salvatinea, who left in it, from his army, for captain one of his brothers, in order that he may himself might go forward with the king through the kingdom of Orya".⁴⁷

From the Mangalagiri inscription, we learn that Sālva Timmarasu, the prime minister of Krishnadēvarāya conquered the fort of Kondavīdu, and captured the 'swan-like kings appointed by Gajapathi in Kondavīti'. The date of the capture of Kondavīdu is the 23-1-1515 A.D.⁴⁸

47 Forgotten Empire, pages 317-18.

48 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 109-133.

Nādinḍla Appa, the nephew of the prime minister obtained the post of Commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinukonda, Gutti, and Amarāvati. Nādinḍla Gōpa, another nephew of the prime minister, was appointed governor of Kondavīdu. Nādinḍla Gōpa was the governor of Kondavīdu as per his Kondavīdu inscription dated the 2-5-1520 A. D.⁴⁹

The Amarāvati inscription of Krishnarāya records that after the conquest of Udayagiri, he captured the forts of Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nāgārjunakonda, Tangedu and Ketavaram, laid siege to Kondavīdu, and captured alive Virabhadra, the son of Pratāparudra, Vīramahāpātra, the son of Kumāra Hammira Mahāpātra, Mallakhan and Uddankhan of Raichūru, Pūsapāti Rāchirāju, Srinātharāju Lakshmipathirāju, Janyamalaka Sanapātra, Pacchima Bālachendramahāpātra, and similar subordinate chiefs and he gave them amnesty. The Ahobilam inscription of Krishnarāya substantiates the same facts with a slight difference. The name of Pūsapāti Rāchirāju was not mentioned. This chief was the son-in-law of Pratāparudra and married his daughter Akkamāmbadēvi. He was appointed as the chief of Ketavaram.⁵⁰ After the capture of Ketavaram, this warrior might have rushed to the rescue of his brother-in-law, Virabhadra, who was besieged at Kondavīdu.

Nuniz states, that soon after the fall of Kondavīdu, the Rāya marched against Kondapalli and captured the same.^{50a} Kristnadevarāya, also mentions that he conquered Kondapalli and captured alive Praheswara Patra.⁵¹ Nuniz describes that Kristnarāya found many people of high rank whom he made captive, amongst whom was the wife of the king, and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom, all whom he sent by road to Vijianagar.⁵²

Soon after the campaign, Kristnadevarāya returned back to the capital via Amarāvati, and Śrīsailam. At Amarāvati, he performed the Tulāpurusha ceremony at the temple of Amareswara, and from thence he went straight to Śrīsailam, and built the row of stone mandapas on either side of the car-street and remitted tolls on Kavadis, Packponies, Pack-bullocks, and donkeys etc. He was at Śrīsailam on the 25—7—1515 A.D.⁵³

49 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 231-33.

50 Vide Kṛitnavijayam—Mentioned in the Lives of the Telugu Poets, Kristnadevarāya—by Mr. Sriramamuathi.

50-a Forgotten Empire, page 318.

51 Colophon of Canto III of Anukramalyada.

52 Forgotten Empire, p. 319.

53 Epigraphical collections Nos. 13 and 19 of 1915.

Chronicle of Nuniz not an Oracle of Facts.

Nuniz can not be accepted as a chronicler of the greatest exactitude, but can be stated only as a compiler of both fact and fiction. He was not a contemporary of Krishnadevarāya, but a little posterior to the events he described, and hence was necessarily ignorant of a multitude of small particulars. He could not but trust to some unconnected memoirs or uncertain echo of tradition; which is but after all, a translation of translation. Below we show how Nuniz was misled. He stated that Krishnadevarāya made captive many people of high rank; amongst whom was a wife of the king, and one of his sons who was a prince and seven principal captains of the kingdom, when he captured Kondapalli. It was not known whether a wife of the king was captured alive or not, but it was known that Virabhadra, the son of Pratāparudra Gajapathi, together with some other Oriya nobles, were captured alive by Krishnadevarāya at Kondavīdu. That fact was fully borne out by inscriptions, which he had mentioned already. Nuniz was not rest content with it. The treatment that Krishnarāya gave to the captured Prince, was described by Nuniz at a latter stage as follows.

“And he sent to call the son of the king of Oriya (after the Simhachalam expedition was over and after he returned home) who was taken captive in the first fortress, and told him that as people said that he was very active man, and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger, he would be pleased to see him fence.

The young man said that since His Highness summoned him he would do what he could, and asked that this might be put off till next day. And when the next day came, the king sent to call him, and also sent for one of his own men who at that time was very expert in the art, that he would fence with him. And when the son of the king of Oriya saw him, being offended with the king for sending a man to fight with him, who was not the son of a king but only a man of a humble birth, he cried out to the king:—“God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the blood royal,” and saying this he slew himself.”⁵⁴

The contemporary inscriptions relate a different story. We know that Virabhadra, the prince, was treated kindly by Krishnadevarāya. He was appointed as a governor of a province.⁵⁵ From the very date of the inscription, which was after a few months after the date of the capture of Kondavīdu, we understand, that the prince was set at liberty and he was appointed to a suitable position befitting his status

⁵⁴ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 319-320.

⁵⁵ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, D-G. 107. 19-10-1515 A.D.

in life. We know from the above 'Devangari record that he was the ruler of Malege Bennur Sima and that he remitted taxes on marriages there.

The Third Kalinga Expedition.

The first mention of this expedition was made in the Ahobilam inscription of Krishnadevarāya. In it it was narrated, that the Emperor, after the capture of Udayagiri, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Addanki, Ammanabrolu, Tangedu, Ketavaram, and Kondavīdu, etc., went to Dharanikota, visited the God Amareswara, and performed Tulāpurushadanam and that he returned back to Vijianagar after the above ceremony was over and that he started on the second Kalingadigvijaya, made obeisance to God Ahobilanatha. We know that the date of the Amaravathi record is the 8-7-1515 A. D. and the date of the above mentioned Ahōbilam inscription is the 21-12-1515 A.D.⁵⁶ The date of Srisailam record is the 25-7-1515 A. D. From the above dates of the inscriptions, we can definitely state that the king was at Vijianagar during the months of August, September, October, November and early week of December of 1515 A.D., making extensive preparations for one of the greatest expeditions, he ever conceived.⁵⁷

The Date of Parijathapaharanam.

Incidentally, it is quite interesting to know, that from the available information given above, that Timmana, one of the Court poets of Kristnadevarāya, composed his poem Pārijātāpaharanam, and dedicated to the Emperor during the above period. Timmana described the campaigns of the Emperor upto the capture of Kondavīdu and Kondapalli. and also stated that the Tulāpurushadanam was made by the king. These events were also corroborated by the Amaravati record. He also adds, that the Emperor was eagerly expected to go against the Gajapathi. Therefore, we can unhesitatingly fix the date of Pārijātāpaharanam, between the 25-7-1515 and 21-12-1515 A.D.

The Route of the Expedition.

Peddana, the Poet-laureate of the Emperor described the route, by which the expedition was conducted by the Emperor, till he reached Simhachalam in the present Vizagapatam District, and how he later on erected a pillar of victory at Potnuru. He crossed Jammiloya, and

56 No. 64 of 1915.

57 Para 48 of the Epigraphical report for 1914-15.

reduced successively the districts of Vēgi, Kōna and Kottam; Kanakagiri, Potnuru, Mademulu, Oddadi, and burnt Cuttack, so that the Gajapathi fled from there. Nuniz also states, that there was no one to bar the progress till he got to Symamdary. Sewell identified Symamdary with Rajahmundry, but it is a mistake. Symamdary is but Simhadri or Simhachalam. The Simhachalam inscription of Kristnadevarāya states that Kristnadevarāya, followed by his two queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, after conquering Udaigiri, Kondavidu, Kondapalli and Rajahmundry, visited Simhachalam and presented jewels to the God Varāha Narasimha.⁵⁸ Peddana states that the king planted a pillar of victory, as high as a palm-tree, on which was inscribed the story of his victory over the king of Kalinga. The same is confirmed by Kristnadevarāya in the colophon of canto, the fourth of the Amuktamalyada.⁵⁹ The date of the Simhachalam inscription is Śaka 1438, cyclic year Dhatri, the twelfth day of dark fortnight of Chaitra, which is according to the English calendar, the 30-3-1516 A.D.

Krishnadevaraya's Encounter with Chitaphkhan.

Both Rāyavachakam and Kristnarāyavijayam narrate how Kristnadevarāya met with a formidable attack by Chitaphkhan, just at the place where the Rāya crossed the Eastern Ghats into the territory of Kalinga. This Chitaphkhan was an independent chief ruling a small domain in Telingana with his capital at Warrangal. The chief was defeated by Kristnadevarāya. There is a lengthy epigraph of this chieftain at Warrangal describing his indomitable courage and indescribable valour. He belonged to Bhōgikula.⁶⁰

Krishnadevaraya's Return March.

After erecting a pillar of victory at Potnūru, he returned back the capital, and visited the following places on his way—Bezawada,

58 No. 694 of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV.

59 Vizagapatam Gazetteer, p. 230. "Potnuru is twelve miles from Bhimilipatam, on the bank of the Chittivalasa river. The pillar has now disappeared, but frequent discoveries in Potnuru of fragments of sculptured stones and gold coins bearing bull upon them strengthen the traditions regarding its departed importance.

60 Pages 115 and 132 of A Forgotten Empire. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VII. No. 731. From the inscription, we learn that he belonged to Bhōgi-kula and that he restored one Panchala-roya to the throne. His genealogy is given below.

Naga

Mana = Gauramba

Chitaphkhan "

Kālahasti, Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaram, and Conjeevaram and made munificent gifts to the temples in the southern country. As per a Mysore record, we know that the Emperor was on the banks of the Kistna on the 29-6-1516 A.D. 'when he was returning home' after his successes in his war against the king of Orissa.⁶¹ There are other instances where the Emperor granted remission of taxes from the banks of the Kristnaveni after his victorious march from the east.⁶² He is also stated to have visited Kālahasti, worshipped the God there, and caused to be built the hundred-pillared mandapa, and the big gopuram on the east gate.⁶³ In the same year important additions like the thousand-pillared mandapam etc. were made to the temple at Tiruvannamalai. The inscription engraved on the north gopuram of the temple at Chidambaram, mentions that after setting up a pillar of victory at Simhadri-Pottunur, the king returned from that place and visited Chidambaram and built the northern gopuram of that temple, perhaps as an act of gratitude for the victories he achieved.⁶⁴

From a Conjeevaram record, we also learn that the Emperor returned back to the capital via Rajahmundry. The date of the record is the 18-10-1516 A.D.^{64a}

Land of Catuir—Identification of

Nuniz states that after Krishnadevarāya made peace with the king of Kalinga, he made a large army and prepared to attack 'Catuir' which was the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years and that land was on Charamaodel side, and that he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was. The name of the city mentioned by Nuniz was lost to us, but it was stated that the city was surrounded by a river. The geographical details so far furnished by the Portuguese Chronicler gave to the South Indian Historians, much food for thought and play of their ingenuity, and each in his own way tried to identify the land and the town mentioned by the chronicler. So far the attempts made, in our opinion, seem to be not at all satisfactory.

Sewell thought that the description of the place answers to Vellore in the North Arcot District.^{64-b} Rev. Heras opined that Catuir might

61 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. V, H.N. 13.

62 Para 53 of the Epigraphical Report for 1910-11.

63 Para 30 of Epigraphical Report for 1914.

64 No. 196 of 1903.

64-a Para 44 of the Epigraphical report for 1919-20.

64-b Forgotten Empire, p. 321.

be the corruption of Chittoor.⁶⁵ Mr. Krishnasastri identified 'Catur' with Cuttaok the capital of the Orissa king⁶⁶ and this identification was called in question by Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar. Dr. Ayyangar equated 'Catur' with the Tamil 'Kadavar' and asserted as follows.⁶⁷ "As there is little doubt that the land of Catur refers to a province rather than to a city, it is clear we have to look for the equivalent of 'Catur' in the name of a province or a district. It seems open to little doubt that Catur is Nuniz's modification of Kadavar, a name originally given to the Pallavas in Tamil literature and which survives yet in the Karvetinagar Zamindari, in the modern Chittoor District of the Madras Presidency". This historian presumes that the first campaign of Krishnarāya against the chief of Ummattur is what seems to be referred to by Nuniz in the war against Catur. In addition to these speculations, we have had a recent one by Dr. Venkataramaniah.⁶⁸ He identified Catur with Kayattar, the capital of one of the branches of Pandyan royal family. The principal city was said to be Kayal. There was a good deal of confusion by the author, in stating that Kayattar as both a principality and also as a capital. The date of conquest of this place was placed in 1519 A.D. i.e. after the final expedition against Kalinga. But Nuniz put it soon after his return from Simhadri. This discrepancy was not explained by this writer.

We think that, the above scholars did not make any serious attempt to understand what Nuniz means by stating that the land of 'Catur' was on the *Charamaodel side*. In the narrative of Paes, we have a clue to what Charamaodel side is. Paes entered the Vijayanagar Kingdom by west coast. The route he mentioned was from Bhatkal to Sāndur.⁶⁹ He arrived at Ballagate and Charamaodel which belonged to Vijayanagar kingdom.⁷⁰ The word Ballagate is no other than Balāghat (above Ghats) which is the name given by the Musalmans of Bijapur to a region in Southern India conquered by them from Vijayanagar in the 17th century. It comprised the north-east part of Mysore and the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddappah Districts of the modern Madras Presidency.⁷¹ Sewell stated that the word 'Charamaodel' was applied by Portugese to the eastern Tamil and southern Telugu Districts and *it had no well defined limits* and often was held to extend

65 The Aravidu Dynasty, p. 112.

66 Archaeological Survey Report for India 1903-09, .page 180.

67 "Yet Remembered Ruler of a Long Forgotten Empire" pages 8-9.

68 Studies in the Third Vijayanagar Dynasty, Appendix A.

69 A Forgotten Empire, p. 237.

70 A Forgotten Empire, p. 239.

71 Imperial Gazetteer, Madras Presidency, page 182.

even as far as to the Kristna river and even to Orissa. Nuniz mentioned 'all the country of Charamamdell'⁷² and 'the Charamaodel country'.⁷³ From the above references, we can safely infer that the Charamaodel country can be equated with the country lying between the western ghats and the east coast, with the Kristna river in the north. The Charamaodel country as mentioned by Paes and Nuniz, comprised more than Cholamandalam and also included some part of Charamandalam also, and not exactly the Southern Tamil and the Eastern Telugu Districts, and Sewell is right, when he says it is something more.

Krishnadevaraya's Conquest of Tulu country and the Land of Catuir.

We have a great testimony of an inscription to show, that soon after the expedition of the Emperor upto Simhachalam and the erection of the pillar of victory at Potnur, he proceeded against the Tulu country on the west coast. An important inscription dated the 13-7-1516 A.D. in the Mudgere Taluq of the Kadur District in the Mysore state reveals the fact that Krishnadevaraya, marched against the Tulu country. It was recounted therein, that the Emperor having gone against Tulu kingdom with an army and being encamped on the Bhuvanna Channel of Mangalur (the modern Mangalore in the south Canara District) Bairasa Odeyar escaped from that country and made a vow that if the army should go back and if he would return in peace to his country, he would repair the temple of God Kalaśanatha. So the events came about and one of his ministers was entrusted with the work.⁷⁴ Nuniz stated that the city was surrounded with a river and that the Emperor was actually at the place and captured it after a great difficulty. From the inscription, we learn that the king came, with his great army and encamped on the Bhuvanna channel of Mangalore. The city of Mangalore, then, as now, should have stretched itself along the back water formed by the *Netravati* and *Gunpur* rivers and we are fortunate to identify a place which exactly answered the description of Nuniz, by the testimony of a contemporary lithic record, which narrates an expedition of the Emperor, soon after the third Kalinga expedition. The expedition of the Emperor to Mangalore or Tuluva country was through Kātūrsīma in the Tarikena Taluk, in the Kodur District of the Mysore

72 A Forgotten Empire, page 301.

73 do. page 9 of the Introduction.

74 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VI. M.G. Nos. 39 and 41 and also 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' page 141.

state. The Kātursīma is also mentioned in later day inscriptions during the time of Sadāśivarāya.⁷⁵ The Bhairasa Odeyars were the most powerful of Jaina Rajahs of Tulu country and perhaps they might have showed signs of insubordination, though they owed allegiance to Krishnadevarāya. The province of Mangalore—Barakuru Rājya was ruled by Ratnappa Odeya in S 1434 and S 1437 (Nos 54 and 42 of 1901). Later on the office was held by Vittarasa Odeya (No. 150 of 1901). The Mahāmandaleswara Sājuva Immadi Dēvarāya Odeya was ruling in S 1445 the province in which were included Huma, Tulu, and Konkana from his capital at Gerosoppe.⁷⁶ A long list of the Governors of Barakuru and Mangaluru was given in the latest epigraphical report of the Southern India, mentioning the above governors.⁷⁷

A Fourth Kalinga Expedition.

The South Indian Historian knew, that there were only three expeditions against the Kalinga ruler—the first expedition ending with the capture of Udayagiri fort, the second culminating with the fall of the Kondavidu Durga, and the third with the setting up a pillar of victory at Potnur. There is ample epigraphical and literary evidence to demonstrate, that there was a fourth campaign against the Kalinga ruler. The Emperor was frequently on the banks of the Kristnaveni during the years 1518–1519 A.D. encamped there with his generals and ministers. Āmuktamalyda, the Telugu poem composed by the Emperor corroborates the epigraphical evidence. The reasons for the fourth expedition, are a matter of conjecture, but the grounds to substantiate that there was such an expedition, are set forth below:—

(1) There was the Kokatam inscription dated the 25-4-1518 A.D. granted by Kristnadevarāya to Allasāni Peddana, his poet-laureate from the banks of the Kristnaveni.

(2) There was a lengthy inscription of the same date of Singarāja, a commander of Kristnadevarāya's army.

(3) The next important evidence is that stated by Kristnadevarāya himself. "In his introduction to his poem (Āmuktamalyada) he says that while on his expedition against Kalinga he stayed for a few days at Vijayavati (Bezawada) went to Śrikakulam to worship the God Āndhra Viṣṇu of the place and spent the 'Ekādasi' fast, at that place. On that night in the fourth watch (Yāma) the God appeared to him,

75 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VI, I.K. 21, 22, 23 and 24.

76 P, 183, Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-09.

77 Para 43 of the Epigraphical Report for 1931-32.

and recounting several works which he wrote in Sanskrit, Madalasa Charitra, Satyavadhūpriṇam, Sakalakathāsarasangraham, Suktinai-punignana Chintāmani and Rasamanjari, directed him to compose the story of Gōda (Andal, the daughter of Viṣṇuchitta Periyālwar, one of the twelve Śrī Vaishṇava Saints) in Telugu. Telugu according to the God was the best of the Desabhashas and could alone be understood by all those assembled in his court. He exhorted the king to dedicate it to God Venkatēswara." This statement of Krishnarāya is supported by a Śrīkākulam record of the Emperor, wherein, it was stated, that the Emperor visited the God on the Kumbhasamkrānti day of the cyclic year Bahudhānya, in S 1440 and presented to God certain villages in the Kondavīti Sīma. As it is already shown by us in our article on the date of Āmuktamalyada in one of the previous issues of this journal the Kumbhasamkrānti day coincided with an Ekādasi day also. That day according to our calculation fell on the 27-1-1519 A.D. There is no other record of Kristnadēvarāya signifying his visit to that sacred shrine. Therefore, it is quite evident, that the date mentioned by the Emperor in his poem, should be, that which was mentioned in the inscription. Therefore, according to the statement of the Emperor, his visit to the temple must be shortly after an expedition against the Kalinga ruler.

(4) A fourth evidence, in support of our contention, that there is a fourth Kalinga expedition, is that afforded by the second Simhachalam inscription. This inscription is dated—S 1441 of the cyclic year Pramadi, on Monday the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvana¹¹⁸. This is equivalent to the 8-8-1519 A.D.

There is vast difference between the first Simhachalam inscription and this one. The former mention the visit of the Emperor with his two consorts and their munificent gifts to the God. The second, of which we are just speaking, specially states, that the Emperor *gave away certain villages from 'Kalinga landapata' taken from Pratāpuru-dragajapathi*. The grant might have been made from Vijayanagar, after he returned to the Capital. This makes us believe that the Emperor, for reasons we are not aware, had to wage a war against the Kalinga ruler and went so far to Vijayavati and returned back to the capital via Śrīkākulam, after a definite understanding with the Kalinga ruler.

The Battle of Raichur or Nairamanam.

Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar writes "Readers of the two Portuguese Chronicles, which form the appendices to the Forgotten Empire

of Vijayanagar of Mr. Sewell, can hardly resist the feeling that the campaign against Raichur is the third act of a great tragedy, and that all the events preceding merely lead up to this; while those that follow from the great event as of necessary consequence...But Indian literature and even the inscriptions of Kristnadēva give no hint that any such importance was attached to this new famous battle of Raichur, great as it was from the military point of view and important in the consequences that ultimately flowed from it".⁷⁹ Apart from the descriptive narrative of Nuniz of the battle of Raichur, we have had an epigraphical evidence of the famous battle. The Government epigraphist was of opinion that the inscription mentions the battle referred to.⁸⁰ There is no reason to disbelieve the graphic account of Nuniz, since he wrote the narrative only about sixteen or seventeen years after the war took place. Now, we are fortunate to have literary evidence of this important battle. Kristnadēvarāya, in the Colophon of Canto VI of his work 'Āmuktamalyada', described the fall of 'Nairamanam', and how he captured it from the 'Yavanas' or the Muhammadans. It is unfortunate, the Editor of the Sources of Vijayanagar History, did not quote this Colophon, probably, on account of his not understanding the meaning of the word 'Nairamanam'.⁸¹ In the 'Addenda et Corrigenda' of the above compilation, the learned Editor presumed that the battle of 'Kembavi' mentioned in the Colophon to Canto V of 'Āmuktamalyada' referred to the battle generally spoken of as the battle of Raichur. We are definitely of opinion that the achievement of Kristnadēvarāya mentioned by him at the end of Canto V of his work will not refer to the Battle of Raichur, but the colophon at the end of canto VI, which mention the success of Kristnadēvarāya at 'Nairamanam' suggests the battle of Raichur. This 'Nairamanam' is the modern 'Niramanuru', a small village now situated about seven miles N.E. of Manvi, near the north bank of the Tungabhadra river, in the Raichur Doab. We are much indebted the information furnished by Mr. Yazdani Sahib, the Director of Archaeology of the Hyderabad State.⁸² This village is also very near to Raichur, (between Manvi and Raichur). It is to the great credit of Kristnadēvarāya, who united in his poetic skill, the instinct for historical precision. The engagement against the muhammadans at a place called 'Kembavi' and the destruction of its fortifications, will be referred to by us later on, but suffice

79 The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire. page 19.

80 Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1907. Para 59.

81 Page 133-138 of the Sources of Vijayanagar History. The Editor made mention upto the Colophon of Canto V, without referring to the Colophon of Canto VI.

82 Letter received from the Director of Archaeology—Hyderabad State.

"The modern name of 'Nairamanam' is 'Niramanuru' a small village about seven miles N.E. of Manvi in the Raichur District."

it to say, that the Emperor-poet, is also a great historian, who depicts his achievements with chronological precision. In this respect, the colophons of the cantos of his monumental work, are veritable goldmines.

Colophon of Canto	I	...	Capture of Udayagiri.
do.	do. II	...	do. Kondavīdu.
do.	do. III	...	do. Kondapalli.
do.	do. IV	...	Worship of the God at Simha-chalam and the erection of the pillar of victory at Potnur.
do.	do. V	...	Destruction of the fortification at Kembavi.
do.	do. VI	...	Battle of Nairamanam.

It may also be known that Kembavi, is nearly 70 or 80 miles from Raichur, and whereas 'Nairamanam' only a few miles from the latter place. This Kembavi expedition mentioned, Kristnadēvarāya, may refer to the expedition against Gulberga and might have been achieved along with the conquest of the latter place.

We have also epigraphical record mentioning the battle of Raichur. From the two tamil verses engraved on the third gopura of the Amritaghateswara Temple at Tirukkadaiyur in the Tanjore District, which register an endowment by a Brahmana named Apatsahāyam, it is understood, that the donor is said to have pleased Krishnarāya by his warlike deeds at Irachchur and Vijayanagar and the date is the cyclic year Vishaiya, which probably stands for Vriśha, corresponding to A.D. 1521-22.⁸³

The battle of Raichur was graphically described by Nuniz and it is not necessary to repeat the lengthy and descriptive narrative of that chronicler. The date of the battle, has almost satisfactorily been settled by the father of Vijayanagar History, Mr. Sewell, and stated to be the 19-5-1520 A.D. We have already stated that Nuniz is not correct in depicting certain minor facts and especially in stating the date he erred, as Mr. Sewell proved.

REVIEWS

'The Wild Tribes in Indian History' Dr. B. A. Seltore;
Published by *Motilal Banarsi Das, Punjab Book Depot*, 1935. Price
not mentioned.

"The aim of the book" the author writes "is to give a short history of such of the tribes which so far as *the available information about them is concerned* have added to the *annals of history* with special reference to western and southern India from earliest times to the end of the 18th century A. D.

The Sources from which the work is written are (1) Literature both Hindu and Buddhist (2) The accounts of Foreign travellers (3) Traditional accounts and Epigraphical records.

In writing the first chapter on the Policy of the Hindu Rulers towards the Wild Tribes, the author brings in the evidence of Ktesias to show that 'free friendship existed between the wild tribes and the Indian rulers.' Then he shows how Koutilya advocated a policy of protection and conciliation because he considered the wild tribes as an element to be counted for the internal peace and external conquest. He then refers to Sukranīti and the maxims given by that Law giver. Asokan Edicts and his moral propaganda were dwelt at length to show that he attempted to uplift the wild tribes. We fail to agree with the author in his inference that the Andhras were one of the many wild tribes that received the Emperor's magnanimous treatment, (P. 9) for we have the evidence of Megasthenes to show them as a well organised and civilised race by that time. Then the policy of the Hoyasala king Vinayāditya and Krishnadevaraya towards the wild tribes was discussed. The author concludes "The non-observance of these noble maxims of Krishnadevaraya the Great by his successors had a profound effect on the life of the powerful Medieval Hindu Empire." P. 12. In our opinion, the Empire suffered more by dynastic disputes, the confederacy of Bahamani rulers, and the lack of loyalty among the Nayaks of the Empire, than by an unwise policy towards the wild tribes.

The history of the Kirātās is dealt with in the Second Chapter. Prominence is given to the Kirātās because "interesting details both in the accounts of foreign travellers and Hindu writers are available." The original eastern extraction of the Kirātās and the probability of their colonising Himalayas, the Punjab and also the Vindhyan forests by the 6th cent. A.D. was discussed from the evidences in Markandeya and Vishṇu Purānas, Brihat Samhita, Mahabharata etc. Then their contribution to India, i.e., by the addition of new diety to the Hindu

Pantheon in the conception of Chandika, is discussed at length. In historical times, the author points out, they were vanquished by Alexander and later by Samudragupta" but the evidence for this statement seems to us rather slender. From the records of the Ganga kings Sivamāra I and Dharma Maharaja, he infers that in the annals of the ancient Karnata kingdom, of the South and the West, too, the Kirātas had figured. In the 17th century A. D. the Kūlādi dynasty and the Mysore rulers had to deal with the Kirātas.

The history of the Sabarās is dealt with in the next chapter. The learned author hints at the probable identity between Kirātas and Sabarās on the evidence and testimony of Amara Simha, Dandin, Aietareya Brahmana etc. Then their habitat was fixed up as somewhere near the Indus in the time of Megasthenes, and Gangetic basin in the age of Ptolemy, and this statement he confirms by references to Indian sources like Rāmāyaṇa, Brihat Samhita, Markandēya, and Matsyapurāṇas. "Under the name Sabar, Saur, Suirs, Savaralu etc. they inhabit the wild tracts of Damoh, Saugor, Singhbhum, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. They are today a wild nomadic race, wandering over the hills, living on the fruits of the forests and acknowledging the rule of no recognised chief". P. 42. According to Cunningham the Parṇa Sabarās were the most powerful of these wild tribes. The description of them by Bāṇa in his Kādambari, and by Brahman Kavi (circa A.D. 1600) is given.

Their influence on Indian History is to be seen, in their aid being requisitioned in the troublesome times of the foundations of the Mauryan Empire. The author assumes that the help rendered by the wild tribes to Chandragupta was not merely adventitious, but there may have been a common origin between Chandragupta and the Mleccha tribes. This he justifies on the ground that Chāṇakya calls him Vṛśala Maurya and 'Vṛśala in law codes denotes unaryanism', and adds that his selection to the Nanda throne by Chāṇakya is due to the 'sterner and wilder nature of the origin from which Chandragupta has sprung.' Here the Gupta origin is incidentally discussed and he traces its lineage to wild tribes. The Kārṇāṭaka kingdom was the region which suffered most by the Sabara depredations.

The Bedars were located primarily in western and southern India, though their traditions are met with as north as Sutlej river. "The whole of Kārṇāṭaka, the Tondaimandalam, Wynād, and the north and south Arcot districts, may be said to be the regions that suffered most from the Bedar incursions." No section of the wild tribes gave such infinite trouble to the Hindu kingdoms as the Bedars. Their

depredations increased during the times of the Rashtrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas but the latter chastised them. They as a progressive people contributed to the strength of the Indian armies.

The last chapter also is an exhaustive one dealing with the miscellaneous tribes like the Pulindās, Mātangās, Pundras, Yakshas, Kinnaras etc.

Though one may not agree with the author in all his conclusions, one must accept that the author has contributed a much needed book for the History of India. We congratulate the author for this excellent book, which exhibits scholarship and industry. It is a detailed and exhaustive study.

We also congratulate the Publishers Messrs Motilal Banarsidas for the excellent get up of the book and for securing the scholarly world a thought-provoking treatise. The notes would have been more useful had they been added as footnotes.

V. S. R.

Archaeology in Gwalior. *M. B. Garde, B. A.*, Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

This interesting little book describes in brief, the activities of the Department of Archaeology in Gwalior since its inception in 1913 by His late Highness Sir Madhava Rao. The book is divided into two sections and the first part deals with a description of the monumental antiquities, sites of ancient places, Epigraphy, Numismatics, the excavations, and the conservation work and the second part gives a brief Directory of important places of archaeological interest in Gwalior State. This little book is a precursor of the forthcoming Archaeological Directory of the Gwalior State.

Since the department is started it is working very actively under the able guidance of Mr. Garde who underwent his training under Sir Marshal. He spared no pains to bring the department to an equal status, with that of any other state.

He deserves the thanks of all interested in the archaeological remains of India. We also congratulate the Gwalior State for maintaining their department in an excellent condition.

V. S. R.

Some aspects of the Vayu Purana—by V. R. Ramachendra Dikshitar, M.A. Publication of the University of Madras.

The Department of Indian History and Archaeology have rightly begun their publication with a Study of the Vāyu Purāna. The Purāna is very valuable in our study of the dynasties of the Kali age and more especially those beginning with the Nandas and Mauryas and ending with the Imperial Guptas. The period between the extinction of the Āndhra Kings and the rise of the Guptas has till now been designated as a dark period of early Indian History but thanks to the labours of K. P. Jayaswal utilising the Purānas and Buddhistic works, we are able to construct a history of the Vākatakas and Bhārasivas. The last word however has not been said on the subject and the views of Prof. Jayaswal are seriously challenged and criticised. As we pointed out with reference to the Bulletin on the Matsya Purāna the bulletin is silent on the historical material in the Vayupurana. A paragraph on P. 46 gives a categorical list of the dynasties. Their chronology and the versions given in the various Purānas are scarcely touched upon. Had the author intended the reservation of the historical study of these Purānas, he should have so prefaced his studies.

As regards the antiquity of the Purāna, it is conceded by all scholars to be a very old if not the oldest Purāna. The confusion between the Vayaviya Samhita of the Siva Purāna has, as observed by the writer, led to its exclusion from the list given in some Purānas. But in the inclusion of the Brahmanda in all Purānic lists is inconclusive by itself to establish its priority to the Vayupurana. Pargiter would even have the original identity of the Vayu and Brahmanda Puranas but he was only dealing with the chapters on the dynastic lists. Winternitz points out (Indian Literature-Vol. I-p. 578) that the Brahmandā is called in the Kurma Purana, the Vayaviya Brahmandā and that it was an earlier version of the Vayu Purana. This requires further consideration.

The extant Vayu Purana is only one half in extent when we compare the number of Slokas contained in it to the number attributed to it in the other Puranas. The writer's views as regards the extent to which it has been tampered with are conflicting (p. 4, 6, 7). In the chapter on the literature known to the Purāna, the author shows its indebtedness to the Brahmanas, Samhitas, Upanishads, Bhagavad-gita and Sutras. This is instructive from the literary standpoint but does not advance the chronology of the Vayu Purana to any considerable extent. The reference to the word 'Puratanē' with respect to a Dharma-sastra does not in our opinion, lead to the theory of Buhler on the existence of a Manaviya Dharmasastra. In sec. XI of the work, the author deals with the factors which fix the date of the Purana and as

usual many of them do not help us. The references to the Yoga doctrines, the absence of the reference to Buddhism or Jainism or the Tantric system and the archaic style lend colour to the view that it should have been one of the oldest Puranas in existence. The reference to Adhisimakrishna does not carry us any further for such an antiquity as 1100 B.C. cannot be assigned to the Purana. But the references to the Vayu Purāna in the Mahabharata, Harivamsa and the Harshacharitra are more positive. The Epic Mahabharata has been assigned in its present form to the 1st cent. A.D. at the latest, and the Vāyupurana referred therein must be of an earlier date. The Harivamsa not only refers it as the author points out but its text 'agrees in many places literally with the Vayu Purana.' The astronomical data are inconclusive. We can only in the present state of our knowledge, assign the centuries before the Christian Era to its composition.

Sec. V deals with the Indian Cosmogony and divisions of India. The writer accepts the Philosophical interpretation of the Seven worlds and oceans as given in Purana and rejects their being geographical divisions of the world. According to this, even the term Jambu Dwipa occurring in our daily Samkalpa is merely philosophical nomenclature. With this view we cannot agree. It might be, we are not able at present to identify the geographical divisions referred to in our ancient books. The philosophical interpretation is only an after-thought. The identification of the nine divisions of India and the islands of the Indian ocean (P. 30) requires further research and careful study. Presumably the term Dwipa was used by our ancestors as a territorial division only and not in our modern sense of an island. The identification of Nagadwipa, Gabhastiman and Saumya is not satisfactory.

In Sec. VI, the author has elaborately shown that Yoga doctrines predominate in the work. The Purāna is not purely sectarian in its nature as the numerous quotations culled by the author as to the identity of Siva and Vishnu, would show. The references to Pāsupatas and Lakuliyas would lead us to a later date presumably the 1st cent. A.D. fixed by Bhandarkar. Ch. 86 & 87 deal with Music and the author has dealt with them in Sec. VIII of the work. Sec. IX very summarily deals with the Astronomical information in the Purāna. The important particulars to be noted in this connection are the Saptarshi Era, the five year cycle, the Solar year commencing with the asterism of Sravana and the division of the year into five seasons. They require fuller treatment. The other details as to Manvantaras etc. are found in all ancient works and are of very little value. We agree with the author that the Purana contains very valuable information on many matters and the more we study it, 'the more are we introduced to the culture and civilisation of Ancient India'.

K. R.

The Matsya Purana—A study by V. R. Ramachendra Dikshitar, M.A. Publication of the University of Madras.

This bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology of the University of Madras is intended to be a companion volume to Bulletin No. 1. Some aspects of the Vayu Purana by the same author. Valuable services have been rendered to the public by scholars like Vans Kennedy, Wilson, Bouruouf, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Pargiter, Smith & others in the investigation of the Purana literature and the writer though he has not mentioned the names of many of these pioneers and referred to some only on rare occasions, has yet in many places adopted the conclusions arrived at by them. Of the Puranas, the Vāyu, and Matsya are very old and of these the Vayu has claimed precedence. As regards their origin, the Veteran scholar Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has in his 'Peeps into the Early History of India' P. 68 & 69 come to the indisputable conclusion that the Puranas, though they were known to the Upanishads and the Srauta Sutras, assumed their present form during the Brahmanic revival after the decay of Buddhism and that they were begun to be recast from about the time of Wema Kadphises and through the Gupta period. The transition from the elemental worship of the Vedas to the pantheism and sectarian nature of the Puranas is in his opinion as also in that of Wilson indicative of a date later than the composition of the Epics.

All scholars are equally agreed as to the nature of the extant Puranas that they, as now existing, contain a framework very old, but with new matter introduced on every occasion. The writer in chapter II of the work attempted an analysis of the contents of the Matsya Purana with a view to arrive at the precise date and has fixed the limits between 3rd or 4th cent. B.C. and 3rd cent. A. D. This is in consonance with the views of scholars like Bhandarkar. Orientalists have no doubt given very late dates for some of the Puranas but the opinion is now gaining ground that the Puranas in some shape or other were in existence in the beginning of the Christian Era. Vincent Smith would even assign them to the 4th cent. B.C. on the authority of the Kautilya's Arthashastra. The reference to the Puranas in the Milinda Panha Bana's Harsha Charitra and by Kumarila, Sankara and Ramanuja has dispelled the erroneous notion of their being modern productions. Alberuni in 1030 A.D. had before him a list of the eighteen Puranas.

The writer had taken pains to show that the Matsya Purana was posterior to the Satapatha Brahmana, Panini, Patanjali and Kātyayana. He has tried to prove also that the work was later to the Epics and the Sutras and shows clearly in many places acquaintance with the Epic Literature. This is superfluous as no body in the present state of our knowledge would contend that the Puranas as now

existing are anterior to the above works. Equally so are the references to Babhravya, Bharata, Dhanvantari and Yaska of legendary lore which do not help us in fixing the date of the Purana. Even a work like the Arthashastra of Kautilya is now chronologically hanging between 4th cent B.C. & 4th cent. A.D. It is not clear whether the references to Vatsyayana and Katayana are to be celebrated writers on Erotics and Grammar. The Natsyastra of Bharata is not referred to by name, not even as Bharata Sastra as the writer thinks; the reference is only to a play enacted by him before the Gods and called Lakshmi-swayamvaram. The writer referring to Yati, a son of Nahusha becoming a Vaikhanasa elaborately postulates the existence of the Vaikhanasa in preference to the Pancharatra school. This is farfetched. Equally nebulous are the so called references to Sukraniti and Lingayats. Much of the material indented upon by the author in this chapter is inconclusive. The references to Buddhism and Jainism are equally valueless bearing in mind the view of Dr. Bhandarkar that the Puranas were recast after the decay of the above two religions. The writers' views that the Bhagavata Purana was a work anterior to the Matsya or supplementary to it (P. 54-55) will not be acceptable to scholars and require reconsideration and fuller discussion. As regards the date of the original Matsya, the writer is inclined to the view that the Purana was begun to be composed in the reign of the Paurava king Adhisimakrishna from the use of the word 'Sampritam' in the text and assigns with Pargiter 850 B. C. as his date. But on P. 48 of his Aspects of Vayu Purana, he is inclined to a date earlier than 1110 B.C. The later work does not give any reasons for departing from the earlier view.

Connected with the date is the light thrown upon the dynasties of the Kali age in Chap. 271 to 273 of the work. Pargiter's valuable work on the text of the Vayu, Matsya, Vishnu, Brahmanda and Bhagavata Puranas in relation to these dynasties is available to us. The Matsya stops with the enumeration up to Guptas and is claimed as authoritative so far as the list of the Andhra Kings is concerned. The texts in the various Puranas are conflicting. Pargiter would have it that these chapters emanated from a so-called Bhavishya Purana, that originally they were composed in Prakrit, that the Matsya version only so far as these chapters are concerned is the oldest, and that these chapters were added to the Puranas on or about the time of the Imperial Guptas. His views are disputed. The Bulletin published by the department of Indian History, is singularly silent about the historical material contained in the work. This is regrettable. We learn from Bhandarkar's Early History of Deccan & other works, that the Pauranic lists do not contain the names of Andhra kings like Chaturshparna or Madhariputra. A detailed discussion about the historical material contained in these chapters would have been appropriate in this work.

We hope ere long the author would come forward to finish the study of the Purana on its historical side. The view of the writer relating to Yajñah Sri is correct. The reading of the line in preference to Pargiter's should be 'Nava Vimsāti Varshani Yajñaśrih Sātakarnikah'.

In chapter I of the work, the writer concludes and rightly too that the flood legends of the world had their origin in India and that the Chaldean and Hebrew accounts were later adaptations of the Indian legends. The contrary view of a semitic origin is taken by Winternitz in his Indian literature (P. 210 & 394). We cannot agree with the views of Mr. Dikshitar with reference to the origin of Matsya Purana and the place of its original compilation. The name Matsya makes the writer link it with the Matsya tribes of old and trace the tribe to various places in India. This is farfetched and fantastic. We are at a loss to know what the writer would do with reference to the Kurma, Varaha, Vamana and Narasimha Puranas. The South Indian Origin of the Purana is equally inconclusive. The descriptions of religious centres like Rameswaram, Srirangam etc. have been from time to time added to the Puranas to give them legendary importance. The writer is aware of such interpolations. (Refer his aspects of Vayu Purana, P. 4 & 5). Winternitz holds a similar opinion (P. 575 of his Indian Literature Vol. I). The Dravidas and Konkans have also been treated with contempt in Ch. XIV as not being eligible for invitation to a Sraddha feast.

In chapters III & IV, the writer feels at home in giving us a description of the Polity and Architecture as described in the Purana. Chapters V and VI are important. The one deals with the indebtedness of Matsya to Vayu and the other with the differences between the Tamil version and the Sanskrit original.

The writer traces the evolutionary process of human development in dealing with the theory of incarnation. His comparison stops with Rama and the Avatars of Krishna, Buddha and Kalki are passed over without comment. The astronomical matter in the Purana ought to have been given a fuller treatment. The Saptarshi Era of reckoning is referred to Ch. 273. This is the most important method adopted in Ancient Indian Chronology and deserves more than a mere mention. Readers interested might refer with advantage P. 40, 79 & 89 of the Appendices to the translation of the Purana published by the Panini office.

A few errors occur in the work but these do not really mar the value of the author's work. The author's view repeated from his Hindu Polity that the word Vākōvākya means the language of animals is not supported by authority. The author is aware of the contrary

opinion of Dr. Keith. The expression is referred to in Chandogya Upanishad (VII—1.2) and Sankara clearly comments on it as 'वाकोवाक्यं तर्कशास्त्रं' thereby specifying that the expression could mean only logic. We are sure however that the author has taken pains to furnish us some information as regards the contents of the Matsya Purana and are confident that the book will be studied with interest by Scholars of Ancient Indian History.

K. R.

Studies in Dravidian Philology by *K. Ramakrishniah, M.A.*,
Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras. Price Rs.2/- or 3 Sh.

The work is No. A of the Telugu Department publications of the Oriental Research Institute and is intended in the author's own words 'to carry on the comparative study of the Dravidian Languages from where Dr. Caldwell has left it'. It consists of four chapters i. The Dravidian Problem. ii. The Verbal Inflexion. iii. The Nominal Inflexion. iv. Derivatives. A tabulated list of the common root material of the Dravidian Languages is given as an appendix.

Towards the end of Ch. I, the writer comes to the conclusion that the Dravidian family of languages furnishes us with substantial evidence in favour of the root theory of the origin of languages. The other chapters of the work are merely illustrative of this theory. The writer admits that this is a subject of hot controversy among the Philologists. From time to time various theories including the Bow-Wow and Ding-Dong have been propounded by the philologists to explain the origin of language but only to find later that the theories offered a partial explanation thereof. With reference to grammatical construction, languages are divided into i. Isolative (Chinese etc.) ii. Intromutative (Semitic) iii. Agglutinative. To these Sweet would add the incorporating as a fourth division leaving out the intromutative and having the inflexional instead. The Indo-European languages have now become inflexional while the Scythian are agglutinative. The Dravidian languages are said to be in their origin purely agglutinative but have in course of time become semi-inflexional. This theory of transition from one stage to another is not approved by some philologists.

The writer has followed in the footsteps of Caldwell so far as the classification and Origin of the Dravidian languages are concerned. Many controversial questions are dealt with in the chapter on the Dravidian Problem and a long discussion is entered upon as to the Aryanisation of India and the mutual indebtedness of the Indo-aryan

and the Dravidian tongues. The views of Grierson, Bhandarkar, Chatterji, Woolner and others are incidentally referred to. Philologists agree in treating the Dravidian Languages as belonging to one family but differ as to their relation to other groups. Dr. Caldwell inclines to their Scythian origin meaning by the word Scythian, the Turkish, Finnish, Mongolian and Tungusian families. His views are disputed and Grierson opines in his *Linguistic Survey* that the selection of the word Scythian is an unhappy one and concludes that the Dravidian Languages form an isolated family and the attempts to connect them with the Indo-European on the one hand or other linguistic families on the other is now generally regarded as a failure. Equally controversial is the question whether the Dravidians are the original inhabitants of India (autochthones) or in their turn migrated from another land though the fact of the Brahui dialects approximating the Dravidian, might lend support to the immigration theory.

The writer's views on the origin of the Prakrit tongues deserves a little reconsideration. (P. 10). The Prakrits are considered to be the later modifications of the Sanskrit language owing to the contact of the Aryan immigrants with the indigenous Dravidian races. That the one influenced the other can be clearly seen from the Indo-aryanisms of the Dravidian tongues and the Dravidian element in the Indo-aryan languages. The very terms Prakrit and Sanskrit (Samskrita) might lead us to infer that the former corresponded to the colloquial and the latter to the literary or the cultivated tongue of the Aryans. That Sanskrit or a language approaching the Paninian was the spoken language in the Vedic and the Sutra periods is conceded by many scholars. This underwent many changes till Panini and Patanjali by their works delimited its growth and fixed the correct forms of usage. The prakrits are the modifications of the colloquial dialect of the Aryans which underwent various changes owing to climatic and other causes. The words 'Sauraseni, Maharashtri, Dravidi etc. with reference to these Prakrits point to their being provincial modifications of the original colloquial tongue. The consideration of each of the Prakrits as a provincially Dravidianised Aryan speech by the Non-Aryan races is, we are afraid, not taking a correct perspective of the Prakrit Problem. It has to be admitted however that contact with foreign races is one of the many important factors which lead to the formation of different dialects.

We agree with the writer that the Dravidian Languages were subjected to Aryan influence and that Telugu, Canarese and later Malayalam have imbibed a huge proposition of Sanskrit and Prakrit words. The influence is least on the Tamil language. The writer's opinion that the Telugu and Canarese Grammarians favoured the Sanskrit origin of the Dravidian tongues is not quite accurate (P.36).

They were well aware of the Desya and Gramya elements in their tongues and never allude to these elements as being Sanskritic in their origin. The Sanskrit language was held in veneration. The Telugu grammarians even composed their sutras in that language. The huge vocabulary engrafted into the Dravidian tongues led them to regard Sanskrit as a parent language but they were well aware of the indigenous element therein. The view of Dr. C. Narayanarao that the Dravidian Languages are derived from Prakrit is now refuted by the majority of those interested in Dravidian Philology.

The author in chapters II & III of the work tried to show how 'the root language of the primitive Dravidian gradually developed through the stage of agglutination to the Semi-inflectional cultivated South Indian languages of the present day.' In so doing, he criticises Caldwell (P. 60) for not taking the evidence of the colloquial dialects of the Dravidian languages for the purpose of comparison. Dr. Caldwell is explicit in his views and rightly rejects the evidence of the colloquial dialects in the realm of Philology (P. 80 & 81). Though there might be old forms prevalent in the colloquial dialects, yet no argument in favour of the antiquity of any particular form can be founded merely on the facts of its existence in the colloquial dialects. Even Grierson who for the purpose of his Linguistic Survey had to use only the colloquial dialects, says that 'the Literary dialects usually represent a stage of development older than the colloquial forms.' Unless a thorough investigation is made, it will not be possible to fix the relative antiquity of the forms in the colloquial tongues.

As to verbal inflexions, forms ending in *gu*, *chu*, *iru* or *inru* etc. are, as the writer says, only modified forms of independent words like *agu*, *inchu*, *iru* and other verbs. But his views about the past sign of inflexion require reconsideration—Caldwell expressed the view that either *i* or sometimes *d* or *t* are the signs of inflexion in the past tense. The writer by a process of synthesis has arrived at '*itu*' as the sign of the past and assumes that the signs *i* or *tu* are lost in some of the forms. The inflexion is stated to be taken from the verb *ī*—to give. The theory is ingenious. Though Dr. Caldwell in his work inclined to the original agglutinative nature of the Dravidian languages, he had to be content in some cases with the inflexions or postpositions as they are without suggesting the word which gave rise to the inflexion. He also considered that the true sign of the past is *d* or *du* and that *i* was originally a vowel of conjunction employed for euphonically connecting the verbal theme and the true sign of the past (P. 508). Many resemblances of this sign to the corresponding signs in Indo-European and Scythian languages are shown by him. We are not able to understand how the author could add *tu* to the root *i* = to give, so as to give rise to the sign of inflexion and how he consider *itu* as a form of the root *i* = to give.

The writer also takes *ki* and *ku* as the Dative termination in Telugu, following Caldwell, Grierson and others. Of these Grierson was considering only the colloquial dialect in his Linguistic Survey. The writer is also aware that the Telugu grammarians from Nannaya downwards have taken only '*koraku*' and '*kayi*' as the Dative and *ki*, *ku* as the Genetive terminations. A footnote to that effect is added on P. 86. No explanation is given as to why the Telugu grammarians are disregarded. If evidently the termination '*ku*' of *koraku* alone is considered as '*kora*' has an independent meaning purpose, *ki* was and could not have been regarded as a Dative termination. The grammarians however agree that the genitive can be used to give a Dative significance but this would not render the genitive suffixes Dative.

In the chapter on Derivatives, the writer mentions that words like *Nadu*, *Nade*, *Naḍu*, *Piḍi*, *Naḍu*, *Bigi*, etc. are common roots in Telugu, Canarese and Tamil. Such words are never regarded as roots in Telugu. The roots are invariably modified as *Nadachu*, *Naduvu* etc. Independent use of words as *Fūr*, *Mīn*, *Kāy* is also wanting without the addition of appropriate vowels.

The writer finally concludes that in the Dravidian group of languages, the words have developed on the principle of root of agglutination from the originally primary roots and thinks that the same may be said of the other languages of the world as all of them must have developed from the root stage by some method or other (P.130). The root theory is now taken as a workable hypothesis in Philology but the development theory connected therewith is regarded by some 'as unproved and unprovable'. They consider that the language starts with a sentence and not with isolated words and that for scientific purposes the root period is the best representative of an early synthetic stage in the development of the language. They even consider the view that the roots so arrived at could ever have constituted a real language to be 'mistaken and existing only in the reflective brain of a modern scholar'. There are on the other hand scholars like Whitney who have held that the development of language was from the isolated word stage into sentences and that the primitive condition of languages was the root stage which developed gradually into those working on a richly inflective basis. But even Whitney in his 'Life and Growth of Language' had to admit that 'The firm foundation of the theory of roots lies in its logical necessity as an inference from the doctrine of the historical growth of grammatical apparatus. It is to be noticed further that the question of roots as the historical beginnings of a language is quite distinct from that of the origin of language. The one is linguistic, the other is partly anthropological'. The writer in his zeal would have the root theory of the origin of language. His attempt is a laudable one though we may not see eye to eye with him in his explanation of some of the inflexions as now existing in the Dravidian Languages.

K. R.

Vishnumaya Natakam. Edited by K. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. University of Madras, Telugu Department publications, No 3. Price Rs 2-8-0.

Vishnu Maya Natakam by Chintalapudi Yellana alias Radha Madhava of the times of Krishna Devaraya comes as a happy surprise to the Telugu reading public. The only defect of the poem from an artistic point of view is the predominance of the philosophic element. However, passages of exceptional poetic merit are not wanting. As has been pointed out in the introduction to the publication, there is a unity of theme in the poem which is not to be found in many of the acknowledged classics among the Prabhandhas. Further this Prabhandha stands far above others including Manucharitram and Parijatapaharanam in that the story sustains the interest of the reader from beginning to end. The presentation is clear and dramatic. The best feature of the book however is its style. Many of the Prabhandhas that we read are famous for their felicitous flow and sweet diction but they are often haunted by a swooning effeminacy and to this charge even the leading classics are not exceptions. Further the prose pieces in them are more often than not unreadable. But the present poet combined in his style sweetness with vigour and simplicity. In this respect he may be classed along with the poets, who immediately succeeded Tikkanna, Kethana, Marana and Manchana. The theme of this Prabhandha is quite similar to that of Pothana's Bhagavata. But though this poet has none of the lyrical grandeur and overpowering emotion of Pothana, he wields a style which is less ornate and more simple and dignified than that of the celebrated Saint-poet. Perhaps after Thikkanna and Nannaya Anantamatya the author of Bhojarajiyam in his only superior in style. In bringing out this book Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya has done a distinct service to our literature and so far he deserves our congratulations.

In this connection we feel called upon to offer a suggestion to our friends of the Telugu Department. We have reasons to apprehend that like the Andhra Sahitya Parishat the Telugu Department of the University also is going to make manuscript editing its mainstay. No doubt there may be occasional surprises here and there just like the Prabhandha under review. But there are higher duties which claim the attention of such men as Messrs Ramakrishnayya and Lakshmikantham. Our classics are suffering for want of brilliant and aesthetic criticism. If Telugu is to be rescued from the clutches of dry-as-dust grammarians and dilettante pedants it is high time that we bring out its aesthetic glory. Will the Telugu Departments of the Madras and Andhra Universities respond to this call of higher duty?

N. B.

NOTE

Mr. K P. Jayaswal on the Mekalas and the Andhras.

V. APPA RAO, B.A., B.L

I

The Purāṇas mention a dynasty of Kings who ruled over the Mēkalā regions for seventy years. The Mēkalā country was adjacent to the Kōsala. The famous Maikal range of mountains, which has given the name of *Mēkala Suta* to the river Narmada, evidently, has also given its name to the surrounding country. After the downfall of the Great "*Kila Kilā*" kings, that is of the Great *Vindhya Śakti*, *Pravira* and his four sons, various subordinate dynasties such as the *Bāhlikās*, *Nabhīrās*, *Māhishās*, *Paṣyāmitrās*, *Paṭumitrās*, *Mēkalās*, *Kōsalās*, *Naishadās* and the *Naḷās*, sprang up and ruled for varying periods.¹ These dynasties have been recorded mainly in *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* purāṇas. The *Matsyā* does not record at all about these kings. The *Vishṇu* purāṇa version of them is scrappy. The *Bhāgavata* also does not mention many of these dynasties. Pargiter digests them under the heading 'Dynasties of the 3rd cent. A.D.' We are now obtaining evidence that these dynasties were historically existing.

The text of the Purāṇas regarding *Mēkalas* is as follows:

"*Mēkalāyanīṣṭhā Saptā bhaviṣyantiha Saptatim.*"

We learn from the above that in the Mēkala country, there would be seven kings ruling for seventy years.

The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* also corroborates the above statement by saying

*Mēkalāḥ ca sapta kosalāyām tu
nav = aiva bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti:*

"There will be seven kings of Mēkala." But the period for which they ruled has not been recorded.⁴

1 Dynasties of the Kālī Age: Pargiter; pages 50-51.

2 Dynasties of the Kālī Age: page 50 ff.

3 Ibid, page 51, line 5.

4 Ibid, page 57, footnote 16.

Some manuscripts of Vishṇu Purāṇa seem to have omitted to mention the name *Mēkalaḥ* before the word *Sapta* and the word *Sapta* then has been tacked on with the rest of the line as;

Sapta Kōsalāyāntu Nav = aiva bhūpatayō bhaviṣyanti:

"In *Sapta Kōsala*, there will be nine kings".⁵ Though there is great confusion of readings it is clear, on a comparison that the Proper text is:

Mekalāśca sapta. kōsalāyāntu nav = aiva bhūpatayō bhaviṣyanti:

Only this text agrees with that of *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa* which clearly state that in the *Mēkala* will be seven generations of kings.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his brilliant study of the *Vākatakas*, *Bhāraṣivas* and other dynasties that flourished in India between 150 A.D. and 350 A.D.⁶ states about these *Mēkalās* as follows:

"Out of the four provincial dynasties, the dynasty of *Mēkala* is expressly called in the *Vāyu* 'a dynasty of the descendants' of the *Vindhyakas*':

Mēkalāyām nṛpāḥ Sapta bhaviṣyantiha Santatiḥ:

These subordinate kings of *Mēkalā* who were seven in number are described by *Bhāgavata* and several copies of the *Vishṇu* as the *Seven Āndhras* i.e. the *Seven kings of the Āndhra country*. The Province of *Mēkala* evidently extended from the south of the present Maikal Range in a straight line covering the modern State of Bastar wherein begins the *Āndhra country*.....It is sufficient to notice here that the *Vindhyakās* were rulers of *Āndhra Deśa*, that their Province of *Mēkala*, included *Āndhra* and that a branch line of the family was established there as a *feudatory family* who ruled for *seven successions*. The ruling families of the other three dynasties came under the description of 'the dynasties of relations by marriage'.⁷ (*vaiivāhikāḥ*). Again Mr. Jayaswal says "In *Mēkalā* there flourished seven rulers in seventy years".⁸

A close study of these two and other passages bearing on this subject of Mr. Jayaswal will bring out the following points:

- (1) The *Mēkalā* country was a *Vākataka* province ruled by one of the sons of *Pravara Sēna*.
- (2) The *Mēkala* included the *Āndhra* Province which was also a *Vakataka* Province

5 See *Vishṇu Purāṇa*: Translation by Manmathanatha Dutt—Page 309-310.

6 Jr. B.O.R.S. Vol. XIX, Parts 1 & 2.

7 Jr.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIX, Parts 1 & 2 pages 84-85. 'The italics are ours.' Ed.

8 Ibid. Page 87.

- (3) The Mēkalās were seven generations of kings.
- (4) The seven generations ruled for seventy years.

For all these propositions Mr. Jayaswal falls upon the readings of the Purāṇic texts. In many cases, *the variant readings* of the same line *are pressed into service*. The result is a curious medley. He selects in one context one reading and in order to justify another conclusion takes exactly the contrary reading. We expect from a scholar of the type of Mr. Jayaswal application of sound critical apparatus when dealing with these texts in the Purāṇas.

Taking up the first proposition, Mr. Jayaswal relies upon the text,
Mēkalāyām nṛpāḥ sapta Bhaviṣyaṇ tīha Santatīḥ:

This reading has been accepted by Mr. Jayaswal to support his theory that the 'Santatī' of Pravīra ruled over the Mēkalā regions. The authority quoted is Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* page 57, Note 17. With reference to this he also states as follows in a footnote on page 84 of his book. "This is the reading in the majority of the manuscripts and in all the copies consulted by Wilson and Hall. (V.P. 4, pp. 214-215.) The variant *sattamāḥ* is a corruption and is meaningless."

Mr. Jayaswal is not unaware of another reading *Saptatīm* which has been accepted by Mr. Pargiter, though he makes no mention of it here. Later on he states at page 87 that in Mēkala there ruled seven rulers for *seventy years*. The authority relied on for this also is evidently the same as before, namely 'Purāṇic Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age' page 51 footnote 17. He adds that this conclusion is arrived at by 'taking the reading *Saptatīḥ*' of the Brahmandā.

We are unable to follow Mr. Jayaswal in the way in which he has drawn his conclusion. Either the reading *Saptatīm* or the reading *Santatīḥ* is true and correct. Both cannot be at one and the same time true and correct. If the reading *Santatī* be accepted Mr. Jayaswal's theory of the 'offspring' of Pravīra ruling over Mēkala for seventy years falls off. If the reading *Saptatī* is taken his theory of sons being appointed governors over conquered provinces goes off. But curiously enough Mr. Jayaswal accepts both, and builds up great castles, without any foundation. We cannot accept the reading *Santatī*. We think that the correct reading, as suggested by Mr. Pargiter, is only *Saptatī* and not *Santatī*, and submit that the Imperial domination of Mēkala by Pravīra is not supported by Purāṇic Texts. On the other hand the text clearly says that the seven generations of Mēkala kings flourished only after the Vindhya dynasty.'

II

DID THE PROVINCE OF MĒKALA INCLUDE THE
PROVINCE OF ĀNDHRA ?

We have not been referred to any authority for the proposition that the branch of the Vindhya-kā dynasty which ruled Mēkala were kings of Āndhradēsa also. He infers this from the fact that some copies of Vishṇu Purāṇa contain the words *Saptāndrah* or *Āndrāh* in the place of *Sapta* in the line describing Mēkalās.¹⁰ Then the line would read as *Mekalāyām nṛipāh saptandrāh* or *Mekalāyām nṛipāh Āndhrāh*. These lines would then have to be interpreted as meaning that the Āndhrās ruled the Mēkala country for seventy years, and not as the Mēkala rulers ruled the Āndhrā country for seventy years. The word '*Nṛipāh Āndhrāh*' refers to the Āndhrā kings whereas the word "*Mēkalāyām*" only indicates the country. Moreover the word '*Āndhrā*' has to be given the same meaning, as was given to it in all the Purāṇas in the previous lines and it does not stand to reason to say that it would mean 'Vākātaka kings ruling over Āndhrā country'. Mr. Jayaswal further says that the Bhāgavata also supports the same conclusion.¹¹ The line referred to is this:—

'Ēkakāla imē bhūpa Saptāndhrā sapta kousalāh.'

This line occurs in the Bhāgavata, after the description of Pushpamitra and Durmitra.¹² In that context it does not state nor hint that it is dealing with the Mēkalās. As a matter of fact, the Bhāgavata is silent about the Mēkalās and Kōsalās generally. We believe that some lines have been lost in this context in the Bhāgavata. We have explained elsewhere¹³ that 'this line refers to the '*Sriparvatīya Āndhrās*' who were ruling the Āndhrā country in the 3rd cent. A.D. and states that '*the Saptakōsalās*' were contemporaneous with the '*Sriparvatīyās*'. It is our painful duty here to point out that Mr. Jayaswal has made a great mess of the various readings and twisted them to suit the one purpose of glorifying the Vākātakās as an Imperial North Indian race. Mr. Jayaswal further states¹⁴ that the "History of the Āndhrā.....fully corroborates, the period." Let us examine this statement.

10 Dy. K. A. page 51, fn. 16.

11 Dy. K.A. page 51, fn. 16.

12 We have used the Kumbhakonam edition of the Bhāgavata Skhanda 12. Chap 1. Verses 34-35

13 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IX, part 3, page 48.

14 J.B.O.R.S. Vol XIX, page 87.

III

WHO WERE THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANĀS
IN THE ĀNDHRĀ COUNTRY ?

Mr. Jayaswal does not state when the Āndhrā kingdom became a Vākātaka Province, nor are we referred to any authorities to show that there was a conquest of the Āndhrā Province during the time of *Vindhyasiakti* or *Pravira*. We have got only the statement that one of the sons of *Pravira* ruled over the Āndhrā country as a sub-king. The date given by Mr. Jayaswal to *Pravira* is 294-344 A. D. Even supposing that the sons of *Pravira* were ruling as sub-kings during the 1st quarter of the 4th century A. D., we do not find any trace of any kind of Vākātakā dominion in the Āndhrā country during this period. According to Mr. Jayaswal the *Ikshvākūs* ruled over the Āndhrā country till about 260 A. D.¹⁵ After their downfall the Āndhrā country broke into a number of independent though small kingdoms. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c 350 A.D.) mentions a number of these rulers, holding sway on the east coast. In *Vēṅgi* the *Sālankāyanās* were ruling. Their chronology is now firmly fixed at least from the time of Dēvavarman.¹⁶ (c. 335 A.D.) who must have preceded Hastivarman mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Then there were the kings of Āva or Avamukta ruling over the country round about Masulipatam. This is the country known also by the name '*Prithulaka*'. The Brihatpalayanās ruled in this country during the 3rd cent. A.D.¹⁷ The southern Āndhrā county, at this time was in the hands of the *Pallavas* who were then ruling from Pālakkada. There were the *Ānandagotra* kings ruling in the Guntur regions. Then when and where did the Vākatakās rule in the Āndhrā country ?

The whole theory of Vākātakā conquest of Āndhrā country is not supported by any evidence whatever and when examined critically tumbles down. Laterly it was Harisēna that boasted of having conquered the Āndhrā country¹⁸ The Vishnukundins who were ruling the Āndhra country then, were allied to the Vākatakās by ties of marriage relationship and were quite independent kings¹⁹ Mādhavavarma performed eleven Aśvamēdha sacrifices which was at least a sure sign of

15 Ibid ,, page 177.

16 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI page 62.

17 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 7, page 170.

18 Ep. Ind. Vol. XX, page 241, No. 1712.

19 Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, P. 193 ff.

sovereignty.²⁰ Even apart from that there is not even a scrap of evidence in the Āndhrā country proper of any occupation of the country by the Vākatakās. In our opinion the Āndhra rulers of the 3rd to 6th centuries A. D. were never subdued by the Vākatakās nor any other power outside the boundaries of the Āndhrā country. In conclusion we point out that neither the Mākala country nor the Āndhrā country was under the rule of Vindhyasakti, his sons or grandsons. The purāṇas on the other hand are explicit on the point by saying that the Bāhlikās and other dynasties rose into prominence after the fall of the Vindhyaka Kula.²¹



20 Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII, No. 20, P. 334.

21 *Vindhyakāṇām kulē tite nṛpā vai Bāhlikās trayah
Supratiko Nabhirāḥ ca samā bhokṣyanti trimśatim,
Śakyamān = ābhavad rājā Mahiṣṇām mahāpatih
Pushyamitrā bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa
Mekalāyām nṛpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyant-īha saptatim
Kōśalāyām tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ
Meghā iti Samākhyātā buddhimanto nav = aivatu
Naiṣadhāḥ Pārthivāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanty ā-manuksayāt :*
Dynasties of the Kali Age: P. 51

